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DO YOU CARE TO SHARE? RISKS AND REWARDS OF SHARING PERSONAL INFORMATION WITH COLLEAGUES

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Abstract

Do You Care to Share? Risks and Rewards of Sharing Personal Information with Colleagues

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With a growing cultural emphasis on authenticity and bringing your "full self" to work, exchanging personal information with colleagues has become commonplace. Social psychological theory generally predicts direct and positive effects of personal sharing on relationship quality, but features unique to *work* relationships suggest some potential risks. With this dissertation, I draw from theories of work-nonwork boundary management and invisible stigma disclosure to make a case for a focused investigation into personal sharing that resolves current theoretical and empirical inconsistencies. In an initial qualitative study, I find that a wide variety of employees view *selectivity* – the intentional creation of variation across personal sharing content and targets – as more important than overall volume for garnering more positive competence and warmth evaluations from colleagues. Further, I develop a model in which these interpersonal perceptions are theorized to explain targets' instrumental and psychosocial support provided to actors who share selectively.

After developing and validating a measure for selectivity, I test the full theoretical model in a field study of marketing and communications employees in a Northeastern healthcare company. Results support the basic proposition that selectivity is more

consequential to interpersonal evaluations and support than personal sharing volume. Specifically, they suggest that actors who share with task-based selectivity are more likely to be evaluated as competent, whereas those who share with dyad-based selectivity are more likely to be seen as warm, and less likely to experience markers of negative work relationships (task conflict and ostracism) with colleagues. However, target-based selectivity unexpectedly emerges as a risk factor, damaging targets' perceptions of the actor's warmth and exacerbating both task and relationship conflict. I do *not* find associations between actor personal sharing volume and target outcomes. Theoretical and practical implications are discussed, along with some promising avenues for future research.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Forming positive and functional relationships with coworkers has become increasingly important as the organization of work has evolved. For example, in the growing "gig economy" (Hathaway & Muro, 2016), employees are hired to complete a specific job in a short amount of time and must establish new working relationships – either with temporary coworkers or a succession of clients – quickly and frequently. Similarly, organizations in the burgeoning knowledge economy are turning to team and multi-team structures for innovation in increasingly dynamic and uncertain environments (e.g., Firth, Hollenbeck, Miles, Ilgen, & Barnes, 2015). Researchers have acknowledged the critical, yet understudied function that interpersonal dynamics play in the effectiveness of teams (Humphrey & Aime, 2014), and meta-analytic evidence has affirmed the performance advantages for groups of friends versus acquaintances (Chung, Lount, Park, & Park, 2017). In the field, practitioners seek team members who possess the social skills to effectively connect with others (Shellenbarger, 2017). Moreover, meaningful interpersonal relationships are increasingly important for employee well-being (Chiaburu & Harrison, 2008) and long-term career success (Gersick, Dutton, & Bartunek, 2000).

Sharing personal (i.e., non-work) information about oneself is clearly one prerequisite for forging and strengthening relationships, both in and outside of organizations (Altman & Taylor, 1973; Clark, 2002; Trefalt, 2013). Moreover, opportunities to share personal information have never been more abundant, as social media platforms allow sharing to a wide audience of both professional and personal contacts (Ollier-Malaterre, Rothbard, & Berg, 2013). In practice, however, walking the fine line between not enough and too much personal sharing at work can be challenging

(Offermann & Rosh, 2012), because it can depend on factors such as target preferences or organizational norms (Dumas & Sanchez-Burks, 2015). That is, despite the potentially vital role of personal sharing in forming functional and meaningful work relationships, its potential risks – and effective strategies for avoiding them – are unclear.

If sharing personal information is vital for developing relationships in general, should employees be encouraged to share more about themselves at work? Traditionally, and particularly in the U.S., cultural beliefs about appropriateness and professionalism have discouraged the expression of relational or affective content at work (Sanchez-Burks, 2004). In addition, much research has focused on the various strategies individuals employ for managing personal-professional boundaries (e.g., Ashforth, Kreiner, & Fugate, 2000; Nippert-Eng, 1996). However, integrating the work and non-work spheres has increasingly become the norm in modern organizations (Dumas, Phillips, & Rothbard, 2013; Gajendran & Harrison, 2007), and sharing personal information with coworkers is perhaps the easiest way to merge these spheres (Phillips, Rothbard, & Dumas, 2009).

It is not difficult to find examples of personal sharing as an expressed value in today's culture. One clear instance comes from Facebook COO Sheryl Sandberg, who has been open on social media, as well as in interviews and a recent book, about her grieving the unexpected death of her husband. She explained on her personal Facebook page, "I realized that to restore that closeness with my colleagues that has always been so important to me, I needed to let them in." Also, one of Gallup's 12 indicators of a healthy workplace is whether employees say they have a "best friend" at work (Gallup, 2016). In addition, the terms "work wife" and "work husband" have made their way into the modern lexicon, describing an intimate but Platonic relationship between two employees who trust and depend on one another, both personally and professionally.

This growing focus on friendships is also apparent in the organizational behavior (OB) literature on high-quality work relationships. Whereas professional connections have traditionally been viewed from an instrumental perspective, qualitative research reveals that employees also look to these relationships to facilitate personal growth and garner emotional support (Colbert, Bono, & Purvanova, 2016). Expressing personal, non-work parts of the self at work fulfills individuals' desire to be consistently and accurately perceived by those with whom they interact on a routine basis (Swann, Polzer, Seyle, & Ko, 2004). Indeed, the idea that opening up to coworkers facilitates healthy and functional relationships, and promotes general wellbeing, is part of the burgeoning area of positive organizational psychology (Dutton, Workman, & Hardin, 2014).

If sharing can lead to stronger work relationships and to some of the benefits discussed above, why not resolve to be an open book at the office? Part of the problem is that apprehensions around sharing certain *kinds* of personal information at work may be well founded. For example, when deciding whether to disclose a concealable stigma, such as sexual orientation or invisible disability, employees must weigh the risk of increased discriminatory behavior from coworkers (Jones & King, 2014; Ragins, 2008). Similarly, personal information that confirms racial or gender stereotypes can be met with unwanted social consequences (Little, Major, Hinojosa, & Nelson, 2015; Phillips et al., 2009). Despite trends toward integration of work and non-work, evidence suggests that employees still might feel the need to conceal even basic personal information (Byron & Laurence, 2015). Moreover, seemingly innocuous non-work interactions are sometimes socially penalized (Uhlmann, Heaphy, Ashford, Zhu, & Sanchez-Burks, 2013). Taken together, the literature would generally advise greater frequency and depth of personal information

sharing with colleagues, while at the same time acknowledging that sharing certain informational content can be seen as a violation of interpersonal and professional norms.

With this dissertation, I will explore a number of fundamental questions that have not yet been addressed fully in the extant literature about this set of issues. First, *what defines the construct space of personal sharing*? Answering this question requires the union of two separate streams of literature: on self-disclosure in organizations, and on integrating the work/non-work boundary. The self-disclosure literature characterizes personal sharing as revealing something about oneself that is socially devalued; it has focused largely on negative consequences (Clair, Beatty, & Maclean, 2005; Phillips et al., 2009). Thus, I characterize self-disclosure as one form of personal sharing, which is part of a broader and more prevalent phenomenon. On the other hand, the literature on boundary management includes personal sharing as one potential tool for integrating the work and non-work spheres (Ashforth et al., 2000). Defining the construct space of personal sharing will require integrating and expanding extant theory.

Second, *what are employees' implicit theories for sharing personal information with colleagues*? Thus far, variation in personal sharing has largely been limited to explanations via national culture (Uhlmann et al., 2013) and individual differences or preferences (Dumas & Sanchez-Burks, 2015). For example, individuals make internal assessments of the degree of privacy versus openness they desire in their social lives (Altman, 1975). In addition, boundary management between work and non-work has been characterized as an internal process largely devoid of relational context (for an exception, see Trefalt, 2013). In addition to individual comfort levels and cultural norms about appropriate sharing, it is likely that a complex and dynamic set of implicit rules or theories (Dweck, Chiu, & Hong, 1995) guide sharing behavior and reactions to others' sharing.

Based on what employees believe about how and what personal information should be shared, they might form implicit rules with the goal of being positively evaluated by their colleagues. With this dissertation, I plan to codify the implicit rules governing personal sharing at work, taking into account individual, situational, and relational contexts.

Third and finally, *what are the interpersonal consequences of personal sharing with coworkers?* The social psychological literature largely assumes that sharing personal information is helpful for deepening relationships (Altman & Taylor, 1973). However, there are some key differences between sharing with coworkers and sharing with friends outside of work that complicate this assumption. For example, friendships outside of work are often initiated on the basis of some commonality or mutual interest. In contrast, employees placed alongside one another performing tasks might have little to nothing in common outside of work; individuals run a higher risk of sharing a source of dissimilarity rather than similarity (Phillips et al., 2009). In addition, the primary goal of non-work relationships is socio-emotional in nature, whereas work relationships are primarily characterized by instrumental goals (Pillemer & Rothbard, 2018).

Research on the consequences of personal sharing in an organizational context has been limited up to this point. Investigations and theories conceptualizing personal sharing as the special case of stigma disclosure or as one tool for boundary integration has largely focused on its positive effects on individual well-being (Dumas & Sanchez-Burks, 2015). The few studies that have examined *interpersonal* consequences of stigma disclosure or boundary integration have found both positive and negative outcomes (e.g., Dumas et al., 2013; Lynch & Rodell, 2019). Moreover, it is presently unclear how those findings would apply to the construct space of personal sharing, which is both broader than stigma disclosure and more specific than boundary management. Accordingly, I will consider both

the positive and negative effects of personal sharing on interpersonal processes between actor and targets, delineating when personal sharing is helpful versus harmful in work relationships. Specifically, I will focus on targets' (warmth and competence) evaluations of actors, as well as the psychosocial and instrumental support they provide to actors who share personal information to varying degrees.

In the following chapters, I develop theory and present five studies that address these three overarching questions. With the aim of answering my first research question, Chapter 2 defines the construct space of personal sharing with a summary of extant theory and empirical work relating to personal sharing in and outside of the workplace. Following a review of the relevant literature, I conduct a qualitative study (Study 1 and Chapter 3) aimed at taking a deep approach to the contours and elements of the construct space of personal sharing, and of understanding individuals' implicit theories of personal sharing at work. This chapter will answer my second research question, as I focus on beliefs or expectations about how personal sharing either helps or hurts in relationships with colleague. Based on those findings, I develop a set of propositions about the interpersonal outcomes of sharing personal information at work.

Chapter 4 summarizes further development of a key construct that emerged from my qualitative data, which I term *selectivity*. I define this construct as intentional creation of variation in personal sharing across content and targets. A series of construct development studies yields a measure of selectivity and empirically demonstrates both convergent and discriminant validity from similar constructs. With Chapter 5, I summarize a field study conducted in a healthcare organization that empirically tests both the evaluative and behavioral interpersonal consequences of personal sharing volume and selectivity. This study will address my third overarching question regarding the

interpersonal consequences of sharing personal information with colleagues. Finally, Chapter 6 discusses a summary of my findings, theoretical and practical implications, limitations, and directions for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

With this chapter, I answer my initial research question of what defines the construct space of personal sharing? I introduce the construct of personal sharing and note its similarities to and distinctions from similar concepts in the OB literature, particularly work-non-work integration and invisible stigma disclosure. Next, I review the main theoretical perspectives of personal sharing processes that have been developed outside of the organizational behavior literature to explain general relationship development. Following a discussion of the limitations of those theories for the application to an organizational context, I will summarize the few studies that have examined personal sharing at work. Because the interpersonal and relational aspects of personal sharing at work have been largely neglected in this literature, I argue that it is presently unclear whether and when its benefits outweigh its social costs. The following chapter (Chapter 3) reconciles this equivocality through an in-depth examination of the personal sharing construct space and development of theory that predicts both the risks and rewards of personal sharing with colleagues.

PERSONAL SHARING: DEFINITION AND DISTINCTIONS

I begin by defining personal sharing and discuss its relation to the similar but distinct constructs of work/non-work integration and self-disclosure. Personal sharing is *the extent to which an actor voluntarily expresses information about his or her non-work life.* This definition implies a few boundary conditions. First, personal sharing does not include information shared unintentionally or by compulsion, such as surface-level demographics, a visible disability, or the disclosure of a coworker-dating relationship when required by Human Resources. In addition, I do not consider spreading information about others' non-work lives (e.g., gossip, rumors) as part of the personal sharing construct. On

the other hand, personal sharing does include expressions aimed at both a general audience (e.g., social media posts, hobbies on a resume, telling a story to a group) and aimed at a specific target.

Personal Sharing vs. Integration

Such a constitutive definition might also beg the question of what constitutes work versus non-work life. Further complicating this question are changes in the social organization of work that increasingly shift and blur boundaries between work and non-work domains (Ramarajan & Reid, 2013). For example, declining job security has prompted individuals to identify more strongly with personal aspects of work (e.g., career and occupation) than with specific organizations (Bartel, Blader, & Wrzesniewski, 2007). In addition, the ubiquity and accessibility of communication technology has increased the frequency and likelihood of activating work identities outside of work, and of and non-work identities inside work (Barley, Meyerson, & Grodal, 2010).

Increasing blending of work and non-work domains is often referred to as integration (vs. segmentation) in the literature on boundary theory (Ashforth et al., 2000). Boundary theory posits that greater integration allows individuals to more flexibly transition across roles and domains. Although there seem to be more pressures to integrate versus segment work and non-work domains, I contend that the *contents* of the two are indeed separable. When an individual's personal and professional domains are highly integrated, it means work and non-work activities or identities increasingly co-occur in time and space, *not* that the content itself is undefinable as emanating from one or the other (Ashforth et al., 2000; Nippert-Eng, 1996). For example, a manager could choose to disclose a sexual identity at the workplace (Creed, DeJordy, & Lok, 2010), but sexual

identity originates and is most relevant in non-work life and can thus be defined as personal. Thus, by "non-work life," I mean activities, identities, values, roles, and relationships that are rooted outside of the physical and social realms of the workplace.

The implication of this definition is that personal sharing is one means through which employees explicitly integrate their non-work lives into the work domain. Other means of integration include joining an organization that espouses the same values as a non-work identity (e.g., religious affiliation; Ashforth et al., 2000), or personalizing the workspace to include symbols of non-work identities (Byron & Laurence, 2015; Nippert-Eng, 1996). More frequent personal sharing can also be an outcome of tight integration between work and non-work domains. To the extent that organizations encourage – and individuals prefer – integration (Ramarajan & Reid, 2013), non-work identities are more likely to be activated and thus discussed at work.

It is important to note that personal sharing is one type of integration activity, and integration is one of multiple functions of personal sharing at work. Nevertheless, some of the literature on boundary theory is relevant to developing a theory of personal sharing at work. In an integrative review of the literature, Dumas and Sanchez-Burks (2015) provide a helpful framework for understanding the utility of both segmentation and integration for separate aims. Segmentation, they argue, is helpful for managing role responsibilities, thereby avoiding the psychological strain and productivity loss due to role conflict across the personal-professional boundary (Allen, Cho, & Meier, 2014). Integration, on the other hand, can simultaneously help employees manage their identity and relationships in the workplace (Dumas & Sanchez-Burks, 2015). Employees who feel free to express their non-work identities in the workplace tend to be more satisfied and engaged in their work, and less likely to experience emotional exhaustion (Cable, Gino, & Staats, 2013; Grant, Berg,

& Cable, 2014). Furthermore, employees desire to be perceived accurately by their coworkers (Polzer, Milton, & Swann, 2002), and integration of non-work into the work domain can help to achieve that goal.

The role of integration in relationship development at work has received comparatively less attention. So far, research has found that when integration activities such as workspace personalization or company party attendance uncover common ground, these can deepen relationships (Byron & Laurence, 2015). Alternatively, when integration activities highlight differences, employees might feel less connected to others at work, particularly for those in the minority or those seen as low-status (Dumas et al., 2013). Later in this review, I summarize a handful of studies that have examined personal sharing as a specific integration activity. In general, however, research on boundary management rarely considers how relationships might influence or be influenced by integration activities, including personal sharing.

Personal Sharing vs. Self-Disclosure.

Personal sharing is similar to but distinct from the nature of self-disclosure at work. In an organizational context, self-disclosure typically refers to an inherently risky process of revealing a stigmatizing (concealable) social identity that could lead to stereotyping, status loss, or discrimination (e.g., Clair et al., 2005; Ragins, 2008). Not surprisingly, deciding whether to share such information with others in the workplace is a process often marked by stress and anxiety (Pachankis, 2007), as it is unclear whether targets of the disclosure will react supportively (Florey & Harrison, 2000). Other uses of self-disclosure in the management literature include sharing information about personal vulnerabilities

(Gibson, Harari, & Marr, 2018) and sharing information that is likely to harm one's image (Little et al., 2015).

In the social psychological literature, on the other hand, self-disclosure has been defined more broadly, and thus more closely resembles the construct of personal sharing. Jourard and Laskow defined self-disclosure as "the process of making the self known to other persons" (1958: 91). So, self-disclosure in that discipline includes not only information that might be evaluated negatively by others, but also information that is considered positive or neutral. In addition, self-disclosure in the organizational literature refers to a one-time revelation of previously unknown (to the target) information, whereas the broader conceptualization includes breadth, depth, and frequency of sharing (Altman & Taylor, 1973; Cozby, 1973). For example, an employee might reveal that she is transgender, and further share personal information about medical procedures. In the organizational literature, self-disclosure would be used to refer to the initial disclosure of gender identity, despite its original conceptualization in the social psychological literature, which would encompass all of the personal details that might follow.

Thus, I argue that the term *personal sharing* is needed to clarify this broader meaning and include the variety and richness of information that can be exchanged between two people over time. In addition, because self-disclosure as conceptualized in the OB literature can be included under the umbrella of what I call personal sharing, I include this literature in my summary of personal sharing at work. Prior to a review of that research, I present the main theories of personal sharing that have been developed in other substantive areas that pertain to relationships in general.

THEORIES OF PERSONAL SHARING IN OTHER LITERATURES

The most prominent theories pertaining to personal sharing are Privacy Management theories (Altman, 1975; Petronio, 2002) and Social Penetration Theory (Altman & Taylor, 1973). The two are related in that they both imply some degree of calculation of the costs and benefits of sharing personal information. Theoretical perspectives on privacy deal more with an individual's choices in regulating what personal information to reveal to others, and the implications those decisions have on the individual's sense of autonomy and control. Social Penetration Theory, on the other hand, focuses largely on a cost-benefit analysis for how sharing will impact one's relationship development with another. It relies heavily on theories of interdependence (Kelley & Thibaut, 1978) and social exchange (Adams, 1965) in interpersonal relationships. These theories were developed in the context of sociology, social psychology, and communications studies, and thus apply to relationships generally. Following my overview and critique of these theories, I report on investigations in the OB literature that have examined individual and interpersonal consequences of personal sharing in a work context.

Privacy management theories.

Privacy regulation theory (Altman, 1975) focuses on how individuals interact with their environment to create an optimum level of personal privacy. Privacy is conceptualized as "an interpersonal boundary process by which a person or group regulates interaction with others" (Altman, 1975: 6). Individuals can regulate their privacy levels by selectively granting access to the self, through mechanisms such as personal space, territoriality (i.e., defense of physical areas), and verbal and nonverbal behavior. When desired levels of privacy are inconsistent with achieved levels of privacy, individuals are believed to engage in a process of restricting or seeking interaction with others to address this imbalance.

The proposed consequences of privacy regulation include self-identity and self-evaluations. Exercising privacy regulation through *less* personal sharing is thought to foster a sense of autonomy and integrity of the self. In addition, people might choose to keep information about the self confidential to avoid losing control over how others view them (Rosenfeld, 1979). On the other hand, *more* personal sharing can facilitate self-verification of one's identity from others (Swann, 2012). Thus, the privacy regulation process involves a balance between defining the self as separate from the social world, while also achieving validation and positive evaluations of the self from relevant others.

Building on this work, Petronio (2002) developed a theory of Communication Privacy Management (CPM). Whereas Altman's theory largely focused on physical mechanisms for managing privacy, CPM was developed to elaborate on the ongoing management of private information about the self with others. Privacy in CPM theory is defined as, "the feeling that one has the right to own private information, either personally or collectively" (Petronio, 2002: 6). These boundaries begin with the individual, who might decide to share private information for a number of reasons, including self-expression, self-clarification, or social validation. Once private information is shared, boundaries must be coordinated for protecting private information with those who subsequently become co-owners of the information along with the original owner. The risk of such coordination processes failing is that the person loses control over his or her private information and becomes vulnerable to its misuse. Thus, personal sharing can be conceptualized as both an outcome of the individual privacy management process, as well as a precondition to the need to control shared ownership of private information with others.

In addition to weighing these risks and benefits, CPM theory describes a number of conditions that affect the way individuals manage boundaries around private

information. First, privacy and sharing norms vary from culture to culture. Individualism-collectivism (Hofstede, 1980) is one major dimension of national culture that likely affects personal sharing. It describes the extent to which the goals of individuals or the collective are emphasized more strongly. Research has found that in collectivist cultures, personal sharing with strangers or outgroup members is significantly constrained relative to sharing with close others, whereas few differences exists in sharing across these groups in individualistic cultures (Gudykunst, Yoon, & Nishida, 1987). In addition, national values might be detected in the degree to which countries formally sanction violations of privacy. For example, Americans generally espouse a belief in a "right to privacy," but this value could be considered stronger in Great Britain and Germany, which have stricter sanctions on breaches of privacy than the U.S. (Petronio, 2002).

At the same time, it has also been shown that the desire to keep affective and relational concerns private when operating in the professional domain is uniquely American (Sanchez-Burks, 2002). This Protestant Relational Ideology is thought to stem from the influence of Protestant and Calvinist teachings that were prominent during the nation's founding (Sanchez-Burks, 2004), when the pursuit of a focused and fervent work ethic while eliminating emotional or relational distractions was elevated as the ideal for leading a moral life. Thus, personal sharing might be more common overall in *non*-American cultures. Similarly, it has been theorized that individuals in Western cultures are more likely to desire segmentation between work and non-work than individuals in other cultures (Ashforth et al., 2000). Some evidence suggests, however, that Americans might share about themselves more frequently, yet less deeply compared to other cultures (Cozby, 1973).

Second, CPM theory suggests that personal characteristics might affect privacy management, and thus decisions to share personal information. Early studies of personal information sharing focused on its covariation with demographics and personality, following the belief that sharing is largely driven by individual differences (Omarzu, 2000). However, aside from the finding that women share more than men (Dindia & Allen, 1992), a review of the literature noted that the influences of most personality characteristics have proven unreliable (Cozby, 1973). As an exception, research suggests that those high in extraversion, the extent to which one is energetic, enthusiastic, and outgoing (McCrae & John, 1992), are more likely to share personal information with others (Hollenbaugh & Ferris, 2014). Corroborating this link, a meta-analysis also found that extraverts were more likely to integrate features of their non-work lives into the work domain (Michel, Clark, & Jaramillo, 2011). When it comes to sharing particularly intimate information with others, greater social desirability is associated with being more reserved (Stokes, 1987). In addition to these findings, theory has suggested that individuals low in neuroticism might be more likely to share their invisible stigmas with others at work (Ragins, 2008).

Individuals also differ in the extent to which they desire personal privacy in general (Altman, 1975), and a preference for privacy is often a reason people refrain from sharing (Derlega, Winstead, Greene, Serovich, & Elwood, 2004). Similarly, individuals vary in the extent to which they prefer to protect (or segment) the work domain from non-work thoughts and activities. Segmenters are less likely to allow non-work thoughts and behaviors to intrude during the workday (Methot & LePine, 2016), and thus may be less likely to share personal information at work. Work-home border permeability, a concept similar to integration preferences in that it describes the ease with which individuals can

mentally transition between spheres, has also been associated with more personal sharing (Clark, 2002).

Finally, some aspects of the actor's self-views are likely to predict the degree to which one might share personal information with others. Specifically, higher self-esteem, the extent to which individuals evaluate themselves positively (Swann & Bosson, 2010), might be related to greater personal sharing. In addition, individuals have a fundamental motivation for others to see them as they see themselves (Swann, 2012), particularly when it comes to positive aspects of the self (Paulhus, 1998). For those with positive self-views, explicitly sharing information about positive aspects of the self to others may be a primary path to self-verification of those views. This might be one reason actors disclose even potentially stigmatizing personal information (Ragins, 2008). In addition to positive self-views, it has been theorized that preferences for integration (vs. segmentation) combined with self-verification motives will lead actors to share more personal information on their social media pages (Ollier-Malaterre et al., 2013). Lastly, the more central or prominent a personal feature is to an actor's self-concept, the more likely it is that he or she will share that personal feature as information with others (Phillips et al., 2009; Ragins, 2008).

Third, CPM theory outlines some contextual moderators of privacy management. Individuals might relax their privacy boundaries following traumatic events, and doing so has been shown to have therapeutic effects (Pennebaker, 1997). In addition, life circumstances might arise that bring about the need to alter the degree or types of information shared with others. For example, the disengagement of a relationship due to divorce or an employee termination might bring about the need for greater privacy and less personal sharing. Petronio (2002) also considers the need to manage private information

around disabilities as a life circumstance, which intersects with much of the organizational literature on stigma disclosure at work (summarized later in this chapter).

Finally, CPM considers the various motivations individuals might have for sharing versus protecting private information. Some of these align with the potential benefits of sharing, including needs for self-expression and self-knowledge. In addition, individuals might also manage personal or private information to gain control over a situation. For example, one might share very little personal information to prevent the possibility of being hurt by others or to keep certain relationships from developing further. On the other hand, opening up to someone with the intention of eliciting a similar disclosure could be a strategy to enhance relational intimacy. Along these lines, reciprocity and liking are two additional motivations for (and outcomes of) sharing personal information that are the focus of another formulation related to personal sharing: Social Penetration Theory.

Social Penetration Theory

Social penetration is the process of interpersonal events involved in the development of relationships (Altman & Taylor, 1973). The focus of Social Penetration Theory (SPT) pertains to personal characteristics that drive interpersonal interactions, features of the situational context that might impact evaluations of those interactions, and relational outcomes. Theory about the progression of interpersonal relationships can be boiled down to two propositions. First, interpersonal exchange is expected to progress gradually from superficial to deep levels, and verbal communication is the primary medium for this process. Altman and Taylor describe the shift from surface to deep levels as (a) from disclosing biographical and demographic characteristics to more core world- and self-

views; (b) from disclosing features of oneself that are common to features that are personal and unique; and (c) from disclosing features that are highly visible to highly invisible.

It is proposed that dyads progress on the depth dimension systematically; layers of depth are not skipped. The authors also note that personal vulnerabilities and inadequacies, along with socially stigmatized parts of the self, are likely to reside at the deepest layers of the self, and are thus disclosed in the most intimate stages of social relationships. Along with increasing depth, increasing intimacy is associated with greater sharing in breadth of categories (number of self domains) and frequency (horizontal elaboration within a domain).

The second proposition of SPT is that decisions to interact further with a target are governed by (a) assessments of present interaction costs and benefits, (b) projection of future interaction costs and benefits, and (c) the cumulative balance of cost and benefits stored in memory. Put simply, favorable assessments of an interaction and favorable memories of past interactions increase the likelihood of future interaction and thus (based on the first proposition) relational intimacy. When assessments are uncertain or unfavorable, individuals will slow down interactions or terminate them altogether. Costs or rewards that are incurred early in a relationship impact the memory repository to a greater extent than assessments of later interactions.

Interpersonal rewards, as conceptualized by Thibaut and Kelley (1959), are the enjoyment and satisfaction resulting from a particular behavior. Costs, on the other hand, are the barriers or deterrents to a particular behavior, such as physical or mental effort, potential for embarrassment, or uncertainty about the outcome. Altman and Taylor posit three separate classes of rewards and costs: personal (e.g., expression of personality, values), interpersonal (e.g., the potential for liking or status granted by the target), and

situational. In addition, rewards and costs can be specific to particular classes of relationships. For example, the anticipated rewards and costs of social relationships are mostly emotional (e.g., love and hate), whereas the rewards and costs of instrumental relationships are goal-related (Bennis, Schein, Steele, & Berlew, 1968).

Resource Exchange Theory

Although not originally conceptualized by Altman and Taylor in this way, the social penetration process as an exchange of potential rewards could also be positioned in Foa and Foa's (1974) resource theory of social exchange. In this framework, exchange can take place with one of six different types of resources along dimensions of universal to particular dyadic partners and symbolic to concrete resources. Personal sharing plays a role in exchange of the symbolic resources: love, status, and information (rather than concrete resources include money, goods, and services). Love or affection is the most particular (vs. universal) of the symbolic resources, and mutually sharing intimate topics in close relationships can be indicative of the flow of this resource. When status is the resource being exchanged, personal sharing might be used to communicate one person's high view of another up the hierarchy, or to communicate one's own valued qualities down the hierarchy. People could also share personally, although less deeply, when exchanging informational resources with others. Personal information could be a resource itself, or it could be employed either to elaborate on some information from, or to help obtain information from, others. In Altman and Taylor's (1973) theory, the social penetration process could be viewed as analogous to the shift from more general (monetary, informational) to more particular (love) resources being exchanged. As long as the

potential for gaining these resources outweighs the risks associated with vulnerability, individuals should be motivated to share accordingly.

Altman and Taylor acknowledge that along with their cost-benefit analysis processes, norms of reciprocity are important determinants of interpersonal exchange (Gouldner, 1960). This is true in part because personal sharing is intrinsically rewarding for both the actor and the target. Actors share with targets they like, but they also like targets more as a result of sharing with them (Collins & Miller, 1994). In addition, personal sharing often comes with an intrinsic reward of self-expression and clarification (Derlega & Grzelek, 1979). For the target, sharing indicates that the actor (sharer) perceives him or her as trustworthy, and also that the target can place trust in the actor (Altman & Taylor, 1973). This pattern of reciprocal sharing that grows deeper over time generates a sense of closeness and trust in the dyad.

On the other hand, some have suggested a curvilinear relationship between sharing intimacy and liking, particularly because overly intimate sharing could produce anxiety in the recipient (Cozby, 1972). In addition, due to the norm of reciprocity, highly intimate sharing could be seen by the target as a limit on his or her own freedom to control the flow of personal information across the self-boundary, thereby lowering perceptions of the actor's trustworthiness (Derlega & Chaikin, 1977). High levels of asymmetry in the exchange of personal information could signal vulnerability and enhance the risk of exploitation by the person who has disclosed relatively little (Derlega & Chaikin, 1977). For example, it has been suggested that because men tend to disclose less than women, they are able to gain power in relationships by hiding parts of themselves while using what they know about their partners to their advantage (Rosenfeld, 1979). Finally, it is important to note that reciprocity is a necessary, but not sufficient condition for relational intimacy.

Targets often react negatively to distressing personal information, for example by giving unhelpful feedback, withholding support, or avoiding the sharer (Kelly & McKillop, 1996). For intimacy to develop, parties must feel that the other reacts to disclosures with adequate attention, care, and support (Laurenceau, Barrett, & Pietromonaco, 1998).

Early investigators of personal sharing among friends and family members studied who actors typically selected as targets for talking about personal matters. One of the earliest of such studies concluded that unmarried people typically shared with their mothers (over fathers, female friends, or male friends), whereas married people most often shared personal information with their spouse (Jourard & Lasakow, 1958). On the whole, sharing intimate information with any person less than a friend (i.e., a mere acquaintance or stranger) is typically viewed as a violation of social norms (Chaikin & Derlega, 1974). One meta-analysis examining sex differences in personal sharing found that females are more frequently targeted than males, and sharing occurs more often in same-sex dyads (Dindia & Allen, 1992).

Unsurprisingly, the target's anticipated reaction is often a factor in deciding whether to reveal personal information (Omarzu, 2000). Considering power or status differentials between actor and target, research suggests that actors most often share with targets they regard as peers (Cozby, 1973). Similarly, sharing with someone of a similar age is typically viewed as more appropriate than sharing with someone younger or older than the actor (Chaikin & Derlega, 1974).

Altman and Taylor (1973) proposed three elements of the relationship context that might impact processes of intimacy and exchange. These are relevant to organizational settings but have received little, if any empirical attention. First, *situational formality* is likely to constrain openness and intimacy in interpersonal interactions. Individuals might

perceive formality through physical symbols, such as architecture, décor, or clothing. In addition, certain social roles have prescribed scripts and norms that involve a high degree of formality in interaction (Goffman, 1959). Thus, both the level of formality of the physical work environment and the strength of organizational (e.g., hierarchical) roles might shape the degree and nature of personal sharing among coworkers.

Another factor constraining relationship development is *situational confinement*, the degree to which options of exiting or terminating a relationship are limited. For example, researchers led participants to believe that they would be speaking to a person who would be their teammate, either for the next 6 months or the next 3 weeks; higher levels of sharing were observed in short- vs. long-term relationships (Taylor, Altman, & Sorrentino, 1969). Relationships with colleagues at work typically have high levels of situational confinement.

Finally, *situational interdependence* is defined as the degree to which dyads depend on one another for many important facets of their lives. It is posited to strengthen reciprocal relationships between perceived rewards and increased interpersonal interactions. Although interesting (and overlapping with task and outcome interdependence in the workplace), the role of this contextual feature in personal sharing at work has not been investigated empirically. Moreover, the relevance of these proposed contextual moderators to features unique to organizations casts doubt on the applicability of extant theory to personal sharing in the workplace.

Summary and Limitations of Extant Theory

In sum, these theories are helpful in some ways for thinking about the process of sharing personal information, but their predictions are largely decontextualized. That is,

theories developed outside of the OB literature explain personal sharing processes and consequences in relationships that are chosen, developed, and maintained outside of the workplace. In contrast to friendly, intimate, and familial relationships, connections and interactions with work colleagues unfold under a more stringent and complex set of norms and expectations. A number of contextual features unique to organizations are relevant to the process and potential consequences of personal sharing, motivating the need to craft new theory specific to the work domain.

First, the stakes are arguably higher for sharing personal information effectively at work versus outside of work. Failing to establish and maintain positive connections with colleagues can result in the experience of being ostracized or undermined, which is harmful not only psychologically, but also professionally (Ferris, Chen, & Lim, 2017). Second, recent theory highlights four aspects of work relationships that are distinct from those of non-work relationships (Pillemer & Rothbard, 2018); these might form the foundation for a code of norms for sharing personal information at work. They include: formal (vs. informal) roles, involuntary constraints (vs. voluntary selection), exchange (vs. communal) norms, and instrumental (vs. socio-emotional) goals. Outside of work, personal information is often shared with others informally. Friends have expectations that they will listen to one another whenever someone needs to talk. However, the role of employee comes with more formal expectations of professionalism and task commitment; too much communication about personal matters or sharing at the wrong time could damage this desired image (Reid, 2015). In contrast to intimate relationships, work connections are often initiated and broken around the lifecycle of particular tasks or membership in the organization. Thus, not only do employees have limited agency in choosing interaction

partners, but they also have constraints around dissolving relationships that are no longer desired.

Work relationships also operate uniquely with respect to norms and goals. Individuals in intimate and familial relationships share personal information under an assumption of communal norms of interaction and exchange. Friends, family members, and intimate partners share with and listen to one another on the basis of need, rather than the obligation of reciprocity (Cropanzano & Mitchell, 2005). Applying organizational norms of reciprocity to personal sharing introduces a constraint on how much of others' time one can take up with personal sharing. In addition, relationships outside of work primarily fulfill socio-emotional goals, whereas interactions with work colleagues serve a range of instrumental or expressive goals and purposes (Colbert et al., 2016; Pillemer & Rothbard, 2018). In other words, not every work connection is intended to develop into a friendship with increasing intimacy in personal information sharing. Given this unique relational context, extant theory is inadequate for predicting the effects of personal sharing in work relationships.

For example, contradicting the assumptions of Communication Privacy Management theory, sharing with coworkers might be far less likely to fulfill needs related to self-expression or self-clarification than for contacts outside of work. In addition, the risk of losing control over certain pieces of private information is an important consideration highlighted by this theory. Failed boundary management can be far more consequential in organizations, where politics, self-interest, competition, or prejudice could result in sharers being cut off from social and/or informational resources. Moreover, CPM theory's main focus is understanding how individuals negotiate the ownership and control of private information – to predict when and why private information is shared with

others. The focus of this dissertation is on understanding how sharing personal information impacts more distal, but important work outcomes such as support provided to and cooperation with the sharer.

Turning to SPT, this theory is similarly limited for predicting dynamics of personal sharing in the context of organizations. If relationship development dynamics are consistent both inside and outside of a work context, the theory predicts that closeness and sharing will have positive and reciprocal effects on one another. However, features of the work context outlined above cast doubt on this proposition. For example, the primary aspect of self-disclosure studied in the social psychological literature is intimacy; interpersonal closeness predicts more intimate disclosures which further increases closeness in a self-reinforcing cycle (Altman & Taylor, 1973). Although greater interpersonal intimacy might be the primary aim and thus most meaningful aspect of sharing in non-work relationships, instrumental goals and formal roles are more salient when sharing personal information at work. As a result, dimensions other than the intimacy of the information are also likely to be important.

In addition, the lack of voluntary choice in coworkers or teammates (contradicting assumptions of SPT) alongside increasing diversity in organizations heighten the likelihood that coworkers are demographically dissimilar and socially distant from one another. Consequently, sharing about oneself to coworkers has a lower probability of positively impacting relationships through a similarity-attraction pathway (as it does when sharing with chosen others outside of organizations), and might instead produce more conflict or division (e.g., Dumas et al., 2013; Pillemer & Rothbard, 2018).

Finally, the mixed-motive nature of organizations has the potential to complicate a simple positive feedback loop between closeness and sharing. Employees vary in their

balance of self- and other-related concerns in the course of performing their work (De Dreu & Nauta, 2009). It follows that coworkers' responses to personal information might demonstrate greater variation and less overall support than responses from friends outside of work. At the extreme end of the spectrum is the potential for withdrawal of helping or active undermining by colleagues who seek to use personal information against the sharer, particularly in highly competitive work contexts (Duffy, Ganster, & Pagon, 2002; Kilduff & Galinsky, 2017; Sirola & Pitesa, 2017). For all of these reasons, extant theory is insufficient for explaining the process and predicting the consequences of sharing personal information in the context of organizations.

In the following sections, I therefore turn to organizational contexts and review the extant research on antecedents and outcomes of personal sharing at work (summarized in Table 1). Most of this scholarship has focused on (1) a specific case of personal sharing, the disclosure of stigmatized identities (Clair et al., 2005) or (2) personal sharing as one tool for work / non-work boundary integration (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000). Because a number of narrative reviews of the stigma disclosure literature have already been written, I base much of my summary of this topic on those recent narrative reviews, along with a few of the latest theoretical works. In addition, I include a few studies that have examined personal sharing in the form of seeking emotional help (Toegel, Anand, & Kilduff, 2007) and personal sharing in the context of diversity (Chiu & Staples, 2013). Because none of these theories or perspectives were developed with personal sharing (as I define it) as the main focus, I will close by explaining why I believe new theory is needed to understand the social dynamics of personal sharing at work.

PERSONAL SHARING AS A SPECIFIC CASE OF STIGMA DISCLOSURES

Antecedents

Employees are more likely to disclose invisible stigmas to managers when they feel supported by them and by the organization (Clair et al., 2005; Jones & King, 2014). When choosing a target for disclosure, they might consider outcomes of past interactions with various possible targets, or employ various strategies for "testing the waters," such as hinting at the information or sharing something similar but less risky (e.g., Omarzu, 2000). Once the employee is sufficiently convinced that the target will react positively to the information, he or she will be more likely to share. The literature on invisible stigma disclosure has also pointed to the influence of professional and industry norms, as well as the presence of institutional supports, as broader collective indicators that it is safe to share (Clair et al., 2005; Ragins, 2008).

Outcomes

The *individual* consequences of sharing invisible stigmas have been characterized as largely positive. Opportunities to express one's full set of identities at work, even those that are stigmatized, allow people to feel a sense of authenticity and wholeness (Creed & Scully, 2011; Ragins, 2008). They also allow reduced dissonance between internal and expressed senses of self (Clair et al., 2005). On the other hand, actively concealing certain identities from coworkers can lead to psychological distress and resource depletion, which in turn could have negative downstream effects on individual performance (Jones & King, 2014; Ragins, 2008). Similarly, sharing potentially stigmatizing personal information with coworkers has been associated with general psychological, physical, and mental well-being (Cozby, 1973; Jones & King, 2014). For example, one study of disclosing a pregnancy to

one's supervisor resulted in enhanced perceptions of supervisor support, both in the short- and long-term (Little, Hinojosa, & Lynch, 2017).

However, the impact of sharing invisible stigmas on *interpersonal* outcomes at work is less clear. Literature on the disclosure of invisible stigmas in the workplace suggests that targets might at times react by providing support, and at other times by further stigmatizing the actor (Clair et al., 2005; Jones & King, 2014). A number of potential moderators of stigma acceptance have been suggested, such as the level of visibility of the stigma, as well as the timing and framing of the disclosure (Jones & King, 2014; Lyons, Pek, & Wessel, 2017), but a parsimonious and unified theory has not been posited. Although the potential for target discrimination against an actor certainly exists when disclosing a stigmatized identity, theory does suggest that the positive individual consequences of revealing such information can outweigh the negative social consequences (Jones & King, 2014).

In an effort to clear up this confusion in the literature, Lynch and Rodell examined the impacts of four different approaches to concealable stigma management (Lynch & Rodell, 2019). They found that two of these approaches were indirectly related to colleague treatment of the focal employee through impression formation. Specifically, assimilating (identifying with a socially desirable group identity over one's stigma-related identity) was associated with more supportive behaviors from colleagues through enhanced archetypal impressions, and integrating (presenting qualities of the stigmatized identity in a favorable light) was associated with lower ostracism behaviors from colleagues through enhanced authenticity impressions. On the other hand, a confirming strategy (trying to benefit from one's associate with the concealable identity) was perceived as less authentic, and subsequently drove both lower support and higher ostracism behaviors toward the person.

Importantly, this research reveals that despite the assertion in the literature that sharing one's stigmas at work is preferred over concealing them (Jones & King, 2014), divergent interpersonal outcomes are possible depending on the specific disclosure strategy employed.

PERSONAL SHARING AS ONE TOOL FOR BOUNDARY INTEGRATION

Antecedents

Many employees, particularly those in the U.S., have a desire to project an image of "professionalism" that involves demonstrating a complete dedication to one's job by minimizing the intrusion of personal concerns into the workplace (Sanchez-Burks, 2004; Weber, 1904). Research has shown that employees who more strongly hold this ideology are less likely to attend to relational and affective cues in professional contexts (Sanchez-Burks, 2002), and thus are less apt to share personal information in the work domain. However, to the extent that employees feel that their non-work selves and concerns are valued and respected by the organization, they might feel more comfortable sharing personal information with their coworkers (Clark, 2002).

Outcomes

One advantage of sharing personal information at work that aligns with CPM and SPT is maintaining a coherent yet flexible sense of self by easing transitions across the domains of work and non-work life. Although integrating personal and professional roles heightens the potential for role conflict (e.g., employees working in a family business might find it difficult to discern when to enact the role of family member, and when to enact the role of coworker or manager), it has been suggested that the benefits of integration outweigh this risk (Ashforth et al., 2000). Moreover, sharing personal information about

family at work has been associated with positive impacts on work satisfaction, citizenship behaviors, and job performance (Clark, 2002; Jones & King, 2014).

On the other hand, implicit in the image-focused ideology mentioned above is the concern that targets will negatively evaluate the job performance or career potential of those who share personal information in the professional sphere. Preliminary evidence supports the validity of these concerns. First, a series of scenario studies revealed that candidates are evaluated more negatively when they reference personal information in their resumes or during initial rapport-building interactions, but only when the evaluators were associated with American culture (Uhlmann et al., 2013). A similar study found that student participants evaluated potential job candidates more negatively when their social networking sites contained content that revealed unbecoming behavior outside of work, but not when professional or family-related content was presented (Bohnert & Ross, 2010). In a more general task context, participants responded negatively to the disclosure of personal weaknesses, but only when actors were construed as having higher status than the target. Specifically, those targets perceived sharers (i.e., actors who shared) as having less influence in completing the task, greater task conflict, and lower social affinity compared to actors who did not share or sharers with equal peer status (Gibson et al., 2018).

A few studies of boundary integration have considered the role of personal sharing (albeit indirectly) in relational outcomes at work. For example, when employees personalize their workspaces with items such as photos or unique objects, these symbols can strengthen relationships by prompting conversations with coworkers about commonalities (provided the symbols aren't too distinctive; Byron & Laurence, 2015). In addition, one qualitative investigation highlighted the feedback loop between relational antecedents and outcomes of the type of boundary management strategy individuals

employed with different coworkers (Trefalt, 2013). Specifically, employees tended to take a more open approach to solving boundary issues with coworkers they viewed as friendly and trustworthy, whereas they felt the need to conceal such concerns in relationships characterized by past turbulence. This suggests that some employees consider the relational context between themselves and a coworker when deciding what and with whom to share personal information.

OTHER PERSPECTIVES RELEVANT TO PERSONAL SHARING IN ORGANIZATIONS

Emotional Helping

When it comes to the dynamics of seeking and providing emotional help in organizations, one study found that employees were more likely to seek such support from those who are high in both self-monitoring and positive affectivity (Toegel et al., 2007). In the context of a hierarchy, researchers have also found that employees are more likely to look upward when soliciting psychosocial support, rather than downward. For example, employees often seek emotional help from their managers, but both employees and managers seem to agree that managers should not reciprocate by sharing emotions and seeking guidance from employees (Toegel, Kilduff, & Anand, 2013).

Diversity Management

Some have considered the potential for both positive and negative effects of personal sharing on diversity-related processes and outcomes. Although the contact hypothesis suggests that personal sharing should improve intergroup relationships (Allport, 1954), a number of prerequisite conditions are necessary for this effect, including positive interdependence and equal status between the actor and target (Dovidio et al., 2004). Accordingly, researchers have theorized potentially disruptive relational outcomes when

sharing personal information that highlights an actor's low demographic status relative to the target (Phillips et al., 2009). An additional study found that when initial social attraction among team members was low, reading personal information disclosed by another teammate increased perceived faultlines in the group, which in turn was associated with heightened conflict and poorer decision process quality (Chiu & Staples, 2013). However, despite these negative effects, the same study found that sharing was linked to greater discussion and integration of task-relevant information, regardless of social affinity. In addition, other research has found that learning personal information about one's colleagues prompts greater support, regardless of whether the information uncovers core value differences (Hardin, 2017).

CONCLUSION

In sum, the literature on personal sharing seems to lead to the cumulative conclusion that it has dependably positive individual consequences, but unclear interpersonal or social ones. Specifically, sharers benefit from the positive feelings and reduced cognitive load of not having to hide or repress certain parts of the self when they are with their coworkers. At the same time, however, those who share personal information risk being evaluated negatively, or even treated uncivilly, by the targets of their sharing. Still other research finds that sharing personal information enhances the quality of interpersonal treatment.

I posit that the reason for this confusion can be explained by a lack of primary focus on the construct of personal sharing as it is unfolds in the context of organizational relationships. I have already discussed the potential pitfalls of applying theories of personal sharing that are devoid of such contextual nuances. Within the context of organizations,

personal sharing has been largely examined indirectly from the perspectives of stigma disclosure and boundary integration. Each of these approaches has unique limitations when drawing conclusions about personal sharing as I have defined it. For one, potentially stigmatizing information inhabits only a small portion of the broader umbrella of content that might be considered "personal." Thus, theory developed to explain the outcomes of sharing such specific information, which is inherently socially charged, might only cover the distributional tails of those potential colleague reactions.

With regards to the relevant literature on boundary integration, research has considered personal sharing as one of a number of tools for achieving this goal. I argue that conclusions drawn about personal sharing from this theoretical perspective are limited for two reasons. First, when personal sharing is folded in with other boundary integration activities (e.g., Dumas et al., 2013), it can be difficult to isolate its unique impacts and mechanisms. Second, when personal sharing is considered as part of the process of achieving boundary integration (e.g., Byron & Laurence, 2015; Trefalt, 2013), personal information that might be shared with other motives or goals in mind are not taken into account. For example, employees might share information for purely expressive reasons, for seeking psychosocial support, or with the goal of deepening a particular relationship at work. Although I do not suggest that these two theoretical perspectives are inadequate for explaining the phenomena the purport to elucidate, I do argue that a more comprehensive investigation of the construct space of personal sharing is warranted.

Recently, a few scholars have initiated this theory-building endeavor. First, in a paper that explores the downsides to work friendships, Pillemer and Rothbard (2018) posited that potential performance disadvantages stem from personal sharing episodes as interruptions or a source of emotional exhaustion in such relationships. However, this work

aimed to uncover performance downsides of workplace friendships rather than predict consequences of personal sharing in general colleague interactions. In addition, Gibson (2018) explored the effect that "disruptive" (i.e., unexpected) disclosure episodes might have on the subsequent trajectory of a work relationship. She posited that when an actor's disruptive disclosure is perceived by the target as goal-incongruent, relationships are expected to deteriorate. However, this theory lacks a conceptual definition or description of what constitutes personal sharing content that is "disruptive" to the target's expectations. Thus, despite these promising forays into the domain of personal sharing, my overarching research questions remain unanswered.

SUMMARY

The literature has found both positive and negative interpersonal consequences of personal sharing, depending on the particular theoretical perspective taken and the outcome examined. However, none have taken a dedicated deep dive into the construct of personal sharing that takes place in workplaces, among colleagues. Given the rich and complex context of personal interactions in organizations, I suggest that employees might have a set of beliefs that guide this behavior and govern reaction to others' sharing. In Chapter 3, I explore my second overarching research question by qualitatively probing employees' implicit theories about the appropriateness of personal sharing, as well as its risks and benefits. Based on my interview data and the literature reviewed here in Chapter 2, I will develop a theory that addresses presently unanswered questions in the literature regarding the consequences of personal sharing at work. Subsequently, Chapter 4 summarizes further construct development efforts, along with a field study that quantitatively tests propositions emerging from Chapter 3.

Chapter 3: Study 1 – Qualitative Exploration of Relational Schemas for Personal Sharing at Work

Employees receive mixed-messages about appropriate communication at work, particularly when it comes to sharing about their personal lives. On one hand, features such as on-site childcare and work-sanctioned social events signal that organizations value an integration of the personal into the professional sphere (Ramarajan & Reid, 2013). In addition, high-profile executives, including Sheryl Sandberg (COO of Facebook) and Indra Nooyi (CEO of PepsiCo) have explicitly endorsed sharing personal information and challenges in the office (Dumas & Sanchez-Burks, 2015). Implicit in these recommendations is the growing cultural value of authenticity and bringing one's "whole self" to work. In addition, the proliferation of social media platforms has made it easier than ever before for employees to both share and access personal information about themselves and their coworkers online.

Another push toward sharing personal information with coworkers is the increasingly interpersonal nature of work itself. As tasks become more and more interdependent and team-based, maintaining positive connections with coworkers and stakeholders has become a vital component of effectiveness at work (Chiaburu & Harrison, 2008; Gersick et al., 2000; Grant & Ashford, 2008). Meta-analytic evidence has confirmed that the number of positive work relationships a person has explains significant variance in both job performance and long-term career success (Fang et al., 2015). Sharing personal information is perhaps a key avenue for forming relational bonds with others at work, and subsequently gaining access to the flow of both personal and task-related resources.

On the other hand, employees are also expected to present themselves as wholly committed to their work, and those who stray from this image can be penalized both

socially and professionally (Reid, 2015). Referencing personal topics in work settings can be viewed as "unprofessional," resulting in negative evaluations of job candidates (Uhlmann et al., 2013). In the event of negative reactions to sharing sensitive personal information, employees could experience immediate or lasting effects on their well-being and their relationship with the receiver (Jones & King, 2014; Little et al., 2017). Thus, employees face a dilemma when deciding what and how much to share about their personal lives, given conflicting expectations for presenting themselves as both authentic and wholly committed to the job.

What are the unwritten rules or expectations of sharing personal information at work? Some research suggests that introducing non-work topics in the workplace might be more or less appropriate when interacting with particular targets and in certain situations. For example, employees see managers as appropriate targets for soliciting emotional help, but they do not expect to provide the same to managers (Toegel et al., 2013). In addition, the depth and volition of the preexisting relationship between two employees is a factor individuals consider when deciding whether it is appropriate to discuss work-home conflict (Trefalt, 2013). These findings suggest that a set of expectations and norms might guide when and to whom employees can share personal information in a way that is helpful at work.

Unwritten rules that dictate appropriate ways of sharing personal information at work can be attributed to individuals' underlying *implicit theories*, or beliefs about appropriate behavior abstracted from observations of interaction patterns over time (Baldwin, 1992). For example, an employee might observe that her coworkers rarely discuss their romantic lives at work. When a teammate brings up a difficult breakup in a team meeting, she notices that others are mostly silent and appear uncomfortable, rather

than providing emotional support, as a close friend would. Later, another person on her team remarks that although she feels bad for the person, it was clearly an awkward moment in the team meeting. As such observations accumulate, the focal employee will likely develop an implicit theory that sharing the details of one's romantic life with teammates is inappropriate, and results in negative interpersonal evaluations. This schema could also be elaborated to include an exception – sharing intimate relationship information with close friends at work in private settings, for example, might be acceptable.

Individuals form implicit theories to guide their own behavior as well as to predict the behaviors and reactions of others (Baldwin, 1992). Implicit theories guide a variety of behaviors at work, specifically. For example, employees hold beliefs about why it might be risky to voice suggestions for workplace improvements to their supervisors, and those beliefs govern decisions to remain silent (Detert & Edmondson, 2011). One implicit theory commonly applied to individual attributes is the belief about their origin: either nature (i.e., the attribute is fixed at birth) or nurture (i.e., the attribute can be developed; Elliott & Dweck, 1988). Managers' underlying implicit theory about individual intelligence – whether it is fixed or malleable –- can shape the nature of the feedback they deliver to employees about their performance (Rattan, Good, & Dweck, 2012). It has been argued that the fixed vs. malleable framework also applies to individuals' beliefs about networking, and these implicit theories in turn affect the strategies employees use when initiating, maintaining, and leveraging network ties (Kuwabara, Hildebrand, & Zou, 2018).

Although some evidence suggests that individuals form expectations about appropriate interpersonal behavior at work, scholarship has not considered implicit theories for sharing personal information. In this essay, I will first explore the question of what kinds of personal sharing are generally agreed upon as appropriate by qualitatively probing

individuals' implicit theories of personal sharing at work. Based on in-depth interview data, I will then inductively develop theory on the conditional effects of sharing personal information on interpersonal evaluations of the focal employee. Integrating these inductively-derived propositions with extant theory, I will also theorize downstream consequences of personal sharing on psychosocial and instrumental support directed to the focal employee.

POTENTIAL RISKS AND BENEFITS OF PERSONAL SHARING IN ORGANIZATIONS

Research suggests that employees might share a wide variety of personal information with their coworkers. Employees want to feel known and valued for who they are in a personal sense, and they sometimes make explicit attempts to make non-work identities and interests known to others (Lyons et al., 2017; Swann et al., 2004). In addition, employees sometimes share potentially stigmatizing information about themselves, as doing so can relieve the psychological strain and stress associated with concealing parts of the self as well as facilitate a sense of identity integration (Ragins, 2008). When personal life conflicts with job requirements, employees often have to explain their situation to coworkers or supervisors (Trefalt, 2013). Finally, personal information likely comes out in the course of everyday small talk that goes on in organizations (Jett & George, 2003).

Sharing personal information might be helpful for developing meaningful and supportive relationships with coworkers (Dutton & Heaphy, 2003). Decades of research have shown that sharing information about oneself is a fundamental and primary way by which friendships grow in trust and closeness outside of work (Collins & Miller, 1994; Cozby, 1973; Fehr, 2004; Jourard & Lasakow, 1958). Recent theoretical development suggests that personal sharing is likewise a necessary foundation of developing close

friendships *in* the workplace (Pillemer & Rothbard, 2018). However, little more is known about the role of personal sharing in work relationships, particularly ones that do not reach the level of close friends. One exploration of strategies for managing boundaries between work and home revealed that decisions to share about life outside of work both affect and are affected by the quality of the relationship between the actor and target (Trefalt, 2013). Another investigation of the aftermath of disclosing pregnancy to a supervisor revealed that initial positive reactions to the news can create long-term positive impressions of supervisors' support (Little et al., 2017).

Although some sharing might strengthen relationships, unsupportive reactions or highlighted differences following personal sharing can negatively impact relationship quality (Dumas et al., 2013; Trefalt, 2013). For example, those who disclose an invisible stigma, such as a mental illness, inherently run the risk of being ostracized rather than supported by some or many of their coworkers (Clair et al., 2005). One reason might be that sharing stigma- or stereotype-relevant information can increase the perceived status asymmetries between two coworkers, regardless of formal hierarchical position in the organization (Phillips et al., 2009).

In addition, sharing personal information can sometimes backfire in the form of negative interpersonal evaluations. Many interpersonal perceptions of others can be categorized along gradations of two evaluative dimensions: warmth and competence (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007). The warmth dimension includes perceptions of traits such as friendliness, benevolence, and sincerity, and is highly predictive of positive interpersonal affect and primary impression formation (Wojciszke, Bazinska, & Jaworski, 1998). The competence dimension, on the other hand, includes assessments of abilities,

talents, efficacy, and intelligence, and can influence the propensity to choose someone as a task partner (Casciaro & Lobo, 2008).

Some findings suggest negative consequences of personal sharing on competence-based evaluations. Sharing that deviates from expectations of being a committed and available employee can result in negative assessments of an employee's performance (Reid, 2015). Similarly, neglecting to censor unflattering information on social media accounts might result in lower respect and less liking by professional contacts (Ollier-Malaterre et al., 2013). Revealing information that violates role expectations in the eyes of coworkers, such as when a leader shares about a personal weight issue, can also abate perceptions of task competence, as well as others' desire to work or spend time with the discloser in the future (Gibson, 2018; Gibson et al., 2018). Moreover, the role of personal sharing in warmth-based coworker evaluations is unknown.

NEED FOR A THEORY OF PERSONAL SHARING AT WORK

Taken together, recommendations in the extant literature for reaping the benefits and avoiding the penalties of sharing personal information at work are fragmented and unclear. Employees who share might be affirmed or devalued, befriended or ostracized. Positive or negative consequences of personal sharing seem to depend on understanding a complex set of implicit rules governing what to share, when to share it, and to whom. Because work is a high-stakes context for being evaluated positively, particularly when tasks and outcomes are interdependently linked among coworkers and teammates, employees are likely motivated to discern these rules. In addition, the workplace is a major source of friendships for many (Hochschild, 2001), and feeling cut off from the social aspects of work can be detrimental to individual well-being, and even the ability to perform

well (Ozcelik & Barsade, 2018) . Employees are thus likely to form implicit theories of personal information sharing that facilitate the understanding and prediction of coworkers' attitudes and supportive behavior toward them (Kelley, 2013).

Given the importance of understanding the dynamics of sharing personal information at work, it is somewhat surprising that a unifying theory has not yet been developed. Presently, a number of important questions remain unanswered. First, what expectations or beliefs do employees hold about the appropriateness of personal sharing? These could vary by content, targets, relationships, and/or settings. With present conceptualizations of personal sharing as an inherently risky process (Gibson, 2018), the cumulative impacts of sharing the full spectrum of potential personal information content on social and relational outcomes is not well-understood.

Finally, what are the implications of sharing personal information for employees' work relationships with, and social evaluations from, others? Although much research addresses this question for relationships outside of organizations, a number of aspects unique to work relationships preclude the application of extant theory (Pillemer & Rothbard, 2018). Outside of work, individuals have the opportunity to choose the people with whom they want to interact and develop relationships. In contrast, employees hold relatively little power to choose their coworkers or to avoid interactions with others they dislike. In addition, relationships at work serve a wide variety of functions beyond just social support, including mentoring, growth, and task advice (Colbert et al., 2016). Further complicating the nature of work relationships is the mixed motive nature of tasks, as well as work itself, leading some to caution against any communication about personal information (Eisenberg & Witten, 1987). For these reasons, the relatively straightforward theory of sharing personal information with friends outside of work is insufficient when

applied to the complex social landscape experienced within organizations. Accordingly, developing a theory for sharing personal information at work requires a grounded theoretical approach.

Relational Schemas as a Lens for Understanding Personal Sharing

One lens for understanding these dynamics is the examination of personal sharing as part of employees' *relational schemas* for interactions with coworkers. Individuals create internal representations of themselves and of others separately (Baldwin & Dandeneau, 2006; Duck, 1994), but relational schemas include representations of the self *in relation to* others. A relational schema is a cognitive structure representing patterns of interpersonal interactions in particular types of relationships (Baldwin, 1992). By describing the content of these cognitive structures for interacting in coworker relationships specifically, patterns of personal sharing and their observed consequences can be used to predict relational outcomes. This approach has been posited as a promising avenue for understanding interpersonal processes generally (Holmes, 2000), as well as personal sharing in non-work relationships (McCarthy, Wood, & Holmes, 2017). Thus, the relational schema lens is appropriate for answering the key questions posed above.

Contained within these schemas are implicit theories, which act as "rules of thumb" for navigating a particular kind of relationship. Implicit theories can be verbalized as beliefs or expectations about contingencies of various patterns of interactions, often in the form of "if-then" statements. Individuals develop their own set of personal rules to guide behavior, based on conclusions that develop from repeated observations of the way the social world works. Such rules are helpful heuristics for effectively relating to others in everyday life, as they help predict others' behavior and exert control over social situations.

One relational schema that permeates interpersonal interactions is social exchange. The majority of interpersonal exchange, particularly at work, is governed by rules of reciprocity, a universal principle of quid-pro-quo (Cropanzano & Mitchell, 2005; Gouldner, 1960). The rule dictates that the giving and receiving of resources (material or symbolic) should be balanced between two parties. Thus, in the reciprocity schema, an implicit theory states, "If I receive support from my supervisor, then I will exhibit behaviors that support him or her, and vice versa" (Settoon, Bennett, & Liden, 1996). In close relationships (i.e., family or intimate friendships), however, individuals are more likely to follow rules of communal exchange (Clark & Mills, 2011), or altruism (Batson, 2011). For example, when social support is provided in a communal relationship, implicit theories dictate that the recipient is not expected to repay the act. Moreover, repaying a favor can be seen as a violation of an implicit theory for communal exchange, harming the quality of the relationship.

It is possible that relational schemas for social exchange will influence employees' implicit theories about sharing personal information at work. For example, employees might believe that it is appropriate to seek emotion help from close friends at work whenever needed, as a relational schema of communal exchange circumvents concerns for reciprocity (Pillemer & Rothbard, 2018). Alternatively, such a request by a work acquaintance might seem inappropriate if the target lacks a need or desire to have the favor reciprocated in kind. As noted before, however, workplace relationships serve a number of functions beyond close friendships, and employees share many different kinds of personal information beyond that which is emotional or vulnerable.

In sum, individuals likely have a varied set of implicit theories of personal sharing for navigating relationships at work. To the extent that patterns of interactions are nuanced

across people and situations, it is probable that multiple guiding rules are needed for interacting productively with colleagues. Accordingly, I collected qualitative interview data that probed employees' own beliefs and expectations about personal sharing in various kinds of interpersonal interactions and relationships in the workplace. Such an inductive approach is appropriate for generating new theory and for further defining the construct space.

METHOD

Various methodological approaches have been suggested for inductively uncovering individuals' implicit theories. First, implicit theories might be identified by asking for multiple examples of particular interaction events (Baldwin, 1992). This procedure has been effectively employed for defining employees' implicit theories of the risks of speaking up to supervisors (Detert & Edmondson, 2011). In that study, the researchers encouraged the interviewees "to generate concrete examples of situations in which individuals wanted to speak up and either did or did not, and to elicit descriptions of their thoughts and feelings about the situations" (p. 466).

Another strategy for probing implicit theories is by directly asking individuals for their beliefs or expectancies, in the form of causal statements. Although these beliefs and expectations for interpersonal interactions are rarely made explicit in the course everyday life, some can be articulated once they are asked about directly. For example, expectancies for interactions in friendships were defined by asking participants to list some "ways of relating in a friendship that would create or exemplify intimacy" (Fehr, 2004: 269). In both student and community samples, individuals were able to call to mind an average of seven

patterns of relating, which they deemed essential for intimate friendships (e.g., "If I need to talk, my friend will listen.").

Data Collection and Sample

Accordingly, I designed interview questions to elicit implicit theories of personal sharing by employing both of these strategies (see Appendix A). Some questions were aimed at individuals' general beliefs about patterns of appropriate or inappropriate personal sharing at work. In addition, I asked about specific examples of when the interviewee or someone else shared inappropriately at work. Without a clear case for following one strategy over the other for eliciting implicit theories, I reasoned that the two approaches in tandem would be mutually reinforcing in helping participants to elaborate the implicit rules they may have never before attempted to articulate.

I began interviews by asking about the general social culture of participants' organizations. This allowed them to begin to think of their relationships and typical interactions with coworkers, while also providing important information regarding potential boundary conditions unique to a particular person or setting. Next, participants were asked to talk about particular "rules of thumb" they might have for sharing personal information with their coworkers. I asked follow-up questions to probe for specific examples and underlying assumptions (e.g., "What made that 'over-sharing'?"). Finally, I questioned participants about their beliefs regarding when sharing personal information is helpful or necessary, when it is harmful, and why. I followed a general outline of six specific questions, with the aim of eliciting the content of individuals' underlying implicit theories for (in)appropriate and (un)helpful personal sharing at work.

Thirty interviews were conducted with working adults from a variety of industries and professions. The goal at this phase of the theory building process was to sample broadly for maximum variation in social settings and individual experiences (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Participants' ages ranged from 25 to 65 years old, with an average age of 36. Just under half (43.3%) were female. Some professions represented were nursing, accounting, law, education, manufacturing, technology, real estate, and hospitality. Positions in the organization ranged from entry-level sales or administrative assistant to executives on top management teams. Participants' tenure in their organization ranged from less than a year to more than 40 years. In sum, the sample contained the potential for a wide variety of social experiences.

Interviews were conducted either in person or by phone, and they generated a total of 114 implicit theory statements about personal sharing at work. An implicit theory statement, the primary unit of analysis, consisted of a phrase or phrases that communicated a belief or expectation about sharing personal information at work, either in the form of an explicit statement or inferred from an anecdotal illustration. For example, one participant stated an implicit theory as a cause and effect belief: "But I guess things that are negative, or I would be complaining about something, I just don't feel it's fair to put that on other people." Another told an anecdote in which an implicit theory about intimate sharing between acquaintances was implied:

> He had knocked on my door, came in my office and was like, 'Hey can I just talk to you for a minute?' I don't know him well. I know him in the sense of saying hi to him… [He] just shared a ton about he and his wife who just got divorced and his wife works at the law school. She's a professor, which is interesting – professor and building maintenance guy being married – because of that divide. And how she kicked him out and what she made him do and how he promised that he'd love her because of the kids... It was very weird and kind of uncomfortable because it felt like jumping 12 levels of friendship…

A few participants had very few guiding beliefs or expectations, either because they tended to be extremely restrictive in what they shared with coworkers, or because they had virtually no filter for what they shared at work. Others had extensive and in-depth thoughts on the kinds of personal information that should or should not be shared with coworkers, based on multiple illustrative examples.

Data Analysis

To analyze the interviews, I used an iterative and multi-step inductive theory building technique (Miles & Huberman, 1994). I began by reading through all of the transcribed interviews, identifying specific statements or anecdotes in each transcribed interview that could constitute an implicit theory of personal sharing, and simultaneously jotting down notes and thoughts on the implicit theories that could be implied from each statement or story. On my next pass through the transcripts, I applied abstract codes to those units and sorted them according to their code. I read through units under each code again to gain a deeper understanding of common themes and meaningful discrepancies. In addition, I began to compare and contrast across themes to understand the relationships among them and move toward a unified understanding of the categories as a whole. From the coded data, a few key themes and relationships began to emerge regarding the nature and consequences of sharing personal information at work.

RESULTS AND PROPOSITIONS

Implicit Theories of Personal Sharing at Work

As a whole, there was little agreement across interviewees regarding a set of "safe" or "risky" topics for personal discussion. For example, a number of employees in the sample would name personal politics and religion as topics to avoid, yet also describe

specific situations or scenarios in which these were an acceptable (and even welcomed) focus of discussion. Thus, rather than identifying comprehensive construct dimensions or a set of taboo categories, I sought to make explicit the implicit guidelines employees follow for sharing personal information with colleagues.

Overall, I identified three different implicit theories, which are summarized in Table 2. The three theories can be categorized as *task-based, target-based,* or *dyad-based*. First, participants discussed parameters for personal sharing based on the relevance of that information to the tasks at hand. Participants also discussed implicit theories regarding thought for the tendencies and personal features of the target. Finally, the unique relationship between actor and target were reported as important considerations for moderating personal sharing. I contend that a theme underlying and unifying all three of the implicit theories is the importance of *selectivity* in personal sharing, or the intentional creation of variation in personal sharing across content and targets. That is, the implicit theories were largely about *how employees should be selective in their personal sharing*, not simply a set of topics explore or avoid.

Implicit theory for task-based selectivity

The implicit theory for personal information based on the actor's own task performance (frequency = 23) was that it is appropriate when the information provides a justification for deviating from typical work responsibilities. Respondents felt that at times, personal struggles or tragedies should be shared with interdependent coworkers to explain abnormalities in work behavior or a decline in performance. For example, one respondent was caring for her son, who was struggling with health issues in another state. She explained, "It's a small group of people – a couple of them are my most senior direct-reports

and a couple of them are more of my peer group … I shared with this group of people what I was going through so they could sort of quietly help pick up the slack for me while I had to be out." In this case, providing this personal information reduced uncertainty about the person's motivation and dedication to work. However, with highly emotional information it was important to limit those justifications to targets whose task inputs and/or outcomes depended directly on the efforts of the sharer.

Implicit theory for target-based selectivity

Respondents expressed two parameters of personal sharing that related to concerns for the target (frequency = 46). One was the belief that it is important to understand the overall receptivity of particular targets to personal sharing episodes. Doing so would help the actor to minimize personal information sharing with targets who might be especially sensitive to non-work intrusions. One respondent explained, "Some people are just here to do their job and don't want to hear about some of the things you have to say."

Individuals vary in the extent to which they desire integrating personal matters into the work domain (Methot & LePine, 2016), which might impact a target's overall receptivity to conversations about personal information. In addition, targets might be more or less open to personal sharing at different times throughout the work day. For example, interviewees noted that some of their colleagues seemed more comfortable discussing personal matters at lunch time or a happy hour after work than when actively engaged in task work. On the other hand, some coworkers (and respondents themselves) viewed personal sharing as a welcome break from their work. Discerning targets' personalities and tendencies with regards to personal sharing at work was believed to be an important aspect of avoiding the risks of negative reactions.

The second part of this implicit theory focused on targets was the belief that it is important to discern targets' receptivity to particular personal topics. Many respondents discussed strategies of letting others be the first to introduce a personal topic, as venturing into new territory by oneself could be risky. Even if that territory was about aspects of others that are known, their silence on the topic might signal that they feel uncomfortable discussing it at work or with certain people at work. In my interviews, some discussed refraining from sharing about their children with others who they knew also had children, simply because they felt that topic had not been previously "opened" for discussion.

This implicit theory was particularly important with regards to more sensitive or potentially polarizing personal topics. One employee explained the risk of bringing up new topics of identity-relevant personal information: "So in terms of politics and religion I'll discuss it if other people bring it up, but I typically won't bring it up. I don't feel like it's not appropriate, but I feel like you can get into pretty sticky territory pretty quickly." In addition, a partner at a law firm remarked that her coworkers tend to overshare with her about certain difficulties in their personal lives, when she had never before (or since) brought up similar topics with her colleagues.

In addition, sharing potentially polarizing personal information when targets' views were unknown or counter to the one being expressed was viewed as inappropriate and risky. For example, participants spoke with exasperation about others who talked about politics freely and indiscriminately in the office. Even when there were some in the group who might agree, the obvious failure to consider that others might disagree made such sharing inappropriate. Thus, respondents firmly expressed the need for careful consideration of targets' perspectives before opening up about certain topics to those coworkers.

Implicit theory for dyad-based selectivity

An implicit theory that related to specifically to dyads (frequency = 45) was that equitable levels of sharing relative to specific targets should be maintained. Many of the examples given about "oversharing" could be characterized as a relatively high volume of personal information relative to the target. For example, one healthcare provider explained how her office-mate often violated this implicit theory:

> All day, every day, she's telling me about every family drama she's ever had, and her parents' health issues, and her own health issues, and her daughter's dating issues. I don't ask her any of that. She just tells me. I don't share anything with her, really. When she asks me things, I'll answer, but she is a big over-sharer... So, it feels like it's not really appropriate, because I'm not really reciprocating the sharing.

This implicit theory aligns with the observation that most work connections are characterized by reciprocal social exchange (Pillemer & Rothbard, 2018). Although not every piece of information shared needed to be reciprocated immediately, it was important to avoid consistently high volumes of sharing relative to others.

Moreover, this implicit rule applied to "under"-sharers as well. Participants expressed concern or suspicion regarding coworkers they saw as too private. Although there were few instances of a lack of direct reciprocation in a face-to-face interaction, participants remarked about coworkers who tended to share much less about themselves than the rest of the team or workgroup. At times, their low levels of personal sharing were associated with questions about their performance and overall fit with the organization. One responded noted the importance of sharing at a level comparable to others by saying, "I don't want to be seen as someone who is reclusive and is not a team player, in terms of personally sharing and being part of the team."

The other part of the dyad-based implicit theory was that personal information depth, intimacy, and/or sensitivity should align with the depth or quality of the relationship. Participants who had close friends at work reported being comfortable sharing about almost anything with those coworkers. In addition, they restricted sharing about deep sadness or anxieties in their personal lives to those with whom they felt closest at work. One person explained how he varied his sharing based on the nature of the relationship: "I definitely feel like the people that I talk with about personal things or even more private things are people that I've gone to dinner with, or we've gone on a double date with – people that I consider much more than just colleagues. [I need to feel] like definitely we're friends." This implicit theory reflects the particularistic (vs. universalistic) nature of sharing personal information with high emotion activation. Such sharing should target particular individuals with whom the actor shares a close bond.

The importance of this implicit theory was most evident when it was violated. As noted earlier in the example of an implicit theory statement, sharing that goes too deep can feel like "jumping 12 levels of friendship" in one conversation. As another example, one person told a story about when she happened to be in a coworker's office when he got a call about a serious family issue. She explained that his inadvertent sharing of such deep information was uncomfortable for both of them in the time following that incident. Thus, respondents believed it was important to vary the emotional intensity of the information shared based on the quality of the relationship with the target.

Effects of Personal Sharing Volume and Selectivity on Target's Evaluations

Whereas implicit theories were the cognitive guidelines for appropriate personal information sharing across content and targets, respondents also attached specific

interpersonal consequences to those rules. I now turn to the interpersonal evaluations respondents associated with the three forms of selectivity in personal sharing (task-, target-, and dyad-based). A few studies have explored the negative competence-based social evaluations that might result from sharing personal information at work. However, it has been theorized that presenting flattering information and censoring the rest – at least when it comes to social media posting – can increase respect and liking from coworkers (Ollier-Malaterre et al., 2013). Based on these interviews, some personal sharing was indeed associated with positive evaluations by coworkers. I argue, based on my analysis of the interview data, that some forms of selectivity could influence targets' competence-based evaluations, while others might solely influence evaluations of the sharer's warmth.

Moreover, the links between personal information sharing and interpersonal evaluations were contingent on both the overall volume and selectivity with which it was shared. Overall, respondents believed that those who shared at both high volumes and high selectivity (i.e., following the implicit theories) were more likely to receive positive evaluations from targets. Thus, it was the combination between volume and selectivity according to the criteria outlined in the implicit theories, rather than sharing volume or content alone, that appeared to determine key interpersonal outcomes.

Impact of task-based selectivity and personal sharing volume

Target-based selectivity was primarily discussed as personal sharing to provide context or justification for deviating from typical work responsibilities. Respondents discussed others' sharing under these circumstances as helpful information for planning around the actor's temporary personal issues. For example, a nurse explained in her interview the need to use her child's doctor appointment as a justification for asking a

coworker to swap shifts with her (whereas she would not normally have discussed her child's medical needs with that coworker). Another interviewee described needing to tell her team about her son's health problems as a reason for her anticipated work absences in the weeks to come. Practically, this meant some of her responsibilities would need to be covered while she was away, and telling her team about the situation in advance provided an opportunity to prepare. In addition, the concrete reason seemed to reduce uncertainty about whether the request would become a pattern, resulting in sustained burden on coworkers. Respondents believed providing these explanations would be appreciated. Likewise, they expressed appreciation when others shared the context for their requests for extra help.

Beyond these logistic practicalities, sharing personal reasons for workplace absences or distraction was often appreciated in a more general sense by others. Specifically, sharing these personal circumstances helped the target to empathize with the actor by uncovering an external, temporary reason for the downturn in mood or behavior. Without such sharing, respondents discussed the possibility that their coworkers would attribute their worsened performance to a stable and internal source, such as lack of ability, motivation, or commitment. On the other hand, when information of a personal nature was shared to provide context to (negative) work attitudes or behavior, respondents believed that those explanations would be received with understanding and appreciation. In a sense, personal explanations for deviations from work responsibilities were viewed as a way of reaffirming a core ability and motivation to contribute to the efforts of the team or workgroup, whereas the same behavior could otherwise be evaluated as slacking off or loafing.

However, personal sharing volume seemed to be a boundary condition to this positive effect. Specifically, respondents expressed wariness when it came to the overuse of such explanations, or sharing beyond the necessary detail, frequency, or relevant targets. In other words, the uncertainty-reducing mechanism lost its potency when actors tended to share about their personal lives at high volumes and with many targets outside of isolated justifications with those who could be indirectly affected. One HR manager explained the distinction in this way:

> I want to understand where people are coming from so that [I] do have a better perspective. But sometimes I think the more people try, the less clear it is. It's almost an excuse at that point. [They think], 'You need to know all this stuff about me because it will explain how I react.' Well no, you still can control that. We don't need to go back to everything that's happened to you.

When actors had the propensity to share personal information indiscriminately at high volumes, its use as a justification for work behavior was no longer viewed as helpful information for enhancing task-interdependent coordination with others.

Hypothesis 1: An actor's task-based selectivity is positively associated with competence evaluations from targets.

Hypothesis 2: An actor's overall personal sharing volume moderates the positive relationship between task-based selectivity and competence evaluations from targets, such that as personal sharing volume increases, the effect of task-based selectivity becomes less positive.

Impact of target-based selectivity and personal sharing volume

Target-based selectivity, through carefully regarding targets' receptivity to personal sharing, was also linked to targets' evaluations of the actor's competence. First, respondents believed that limiting personal sharing to targets who were dispositionally

receptive to discussing personal information at work was a way of demonstrating competence in their work-role. Second, gauging target's sensitivities regarding particular personal *topics* was regarded as an important requisite of appropriate personal sharing. Following both of these implicit theories was believed to demonstrate competence in one's primary work role as a colleague or teammate.

Personal sharing is typically conceptualized in the literature as an expressive behavior (Snyder, 1974). That is, sharing personal information about oneself is defined as a means of expressing self-identities, emotions, and viewpoints, often for the purpose of self-verification or affirmation. However, respondents also discussed personal sharing as a tool for meeting interpersonal or social goals at work. Specifically, respondents discussed the positive impact personal information sharing with receptive colleagues could have on strengthening the working relationship. Such sharing was seen as a means of forming a foundation of trust, or the feeling that a coworker would "have my back" if they were ever caught in a tough situation on the job.

Likewise, knowing which colleagues preferred a higher level of privacy or preferred to restrict work interactions to task-related topics was seen as a source of work role competence. Respondents tended to agree that because work relationships exist primarily to accomplish interdependent goals, task-relevant interactions should take precedence over the desire to discuss personal topics at work. For example, "Sharing is welcome when it's requested and if someone asks a question of you. It opens up the floor for you to share. But unilaterally sharing information is maybe not the best way to go. Some people are just here to do their job and don't want to hear about some of the things you have to say." Thus, distributing one's personal sharing across targets in a way that matched their general preferences for personal sharing was regarded as a more instrumental

form of personal sharing. Target-based selectivity was a way of strengthening personal relationships with those who desired them, while respecting the task-focused preferences of those who did not. One respondent summed it up this way: "I think being respectful not of your needs, but of the other person's needs, communications, personality, is what also helps in maintaining good relationships anywhere, but definitely in the workplace."

In addition, respecting targets' sensitivities to particular topics before sharing personal information was also viewed as important for being evaluated as competent. Although this rule applied to any topic the target might prefer to avoid, it was particularly true when it came to potentially divisive or controversial topics, such as politics and religion. It is important to note that although some might view politics and religion as universally "taboo" topics, the majority of respondents reported an openness to discussing their viewpoints under the right circumstances. This suggested that demonstrating sensitivity for targets' perspectives when sharing was more important than the subject matter itself. On the other hand, respondents suggested that non-selective sharing of such content could be viewed as aggressive or argumentative; one referred to those topics as "sticky territory." It was also believed to have the potential to spark tension, disagreement, or conflict with interdependent coworkers and act as a barrier to effective task work.

Aside from raising the potential for harmful conflict, respondents used language that revealed their competence-based evaluations of those who shared about some personal topics non-selectively with targets. Specifically, they often discussed non-selective sharing in this domain as a failure to "know your audience." Sharing potentially polarizing viewpoints indiscriminately demonstrated an inability or unwillingness to learn where potential targets stand on the topics. It could also signal one-dimensional thinking and a lack of openness to alternate viewpoints. In addition, participants talked about a person

with these tendencies as inept at regulating what they shared about themselves with others, seeming to only consider their own emotions, opinions, or needs, which bled over into assessments of low competence generally. For example, one employee said, "You can see that when people talk about certain topics at work that other people shut down and it becomes less of a conversation – which is I think a positive method of sharing. It becomes more of a soapbox, which is a negative form. It has a negative impact on people." Similar to neglecting to account for target receptivity to any discussion of personal information, disregard for targets' topic sensitivity seemed to demonstrate that an across chose to put his or her own expressive goals over interdependent task goals.

In contrast to task-based selectivity, the effect of target-based selectivity on these evaluations was thought to be enhanced, rather than depressed, by the actor's overall volume of personal sharing. As long as targets' preferences and viewpoints have been considered, a high volume of such directed personal sharing was viewed as a valuable contribution to coordinating interdependent task work. For example, personal sharing could be used to provide an emotional reprieve for a coworker after a stressful episode, as illustrated by this nurse: "Sometimes the best way to escape from [a hard situation with a patient] is to talk about some lighthearted things that are happening in your life versus the person who's dying in the room next to you." This suggests that a higher volume of personal information shared selectively can be used to enhance working relationships with others. Thus, the more an employee is willing to share personal information with receptive targets, while also restricting frequency and topics to unreceptive targets, he or she can demonstrate competence through an ability to hold instrumental goals above individual expressive goals.

Hypothesis 3: An actor's target-based selectivity is positively associated with competence evaluations from targets.

Hypothesis 4: An actor's overall personal sharing volume moderates the positive relationship between target-based selectivity and competence evaluations from targets, such that as personal sharing volume increases, the effect of target-based selectivity becomes more positive.

Impact of dyad-based selectivity and personal sharing volume

Implicit theories directing selectivity within unique dyads were primarily associated with warmth evaluations. First, respondents believed that actors who maintained equitable personal sharing volume to that of particular targets were more likely to be seen as warm. Second, warmth was attributed to actors who matched information depth or sensitivity to the depth of the relationship. Both of these implicit theories emphasized aspects of the relationship between actor and target that could be considered before sharing personal information in a given dyad. This relational focus then informed warmth evaluations of the actor, regardless of the level of closeness between actor and target.

When it came to maintaining equitable levels of personal sharing, warmth could be attributed to an actor with whom a target had a reciprocal give and take over time. For example, personal sharing in response to another person's vulnerability was thought to create feelings of compassion and goodwill. One respondent said, "If I'm talking to [my coworkers] about their situation, I might share something about me to help them understand like, 'Yes, I understand, I went through that with my father who had Alzheimer's' or something like that."

On the other hand, some respondents actively held back their personal sharing when others were sharing with them, because they desired to maintain a social distance with their coworkers. For example, a partner at a law firm explained why she was reluctant to tell her coworkers about her daughter's pregnancy, saying, "I just don't know that I want anybody that close in my work life. And sure, it could be good if I shared it with certain people because there's a lot of good people that I could share that with." This statement underscored a belief shared by some other respondents that placing strong boundaries around personal sharing relative to particular others would keep them from becoming too familiar. Thus, they seemed comfortable and, at times, eager to forfeit the potential benefits of warmth-based evaluations to maintain distance and privacy.

Respondents expressed exasperation when talking about coworkers who shared at higher volumes relative to what was shared with them. They could draw to mind specific people in their workgroup who seemed to be outliers in how much they shared about themselves, and these people were often referred to as attention-seeking, narcissistic, or argumentative (when "over-sharing" political viewpoints in particular). For example, one employee had this reaction to coworkers whose sharing frequency greatly exceeded targets' sharing frequency: "And at some point, just the amount of sharing information maybe comes across as a little too much, a little conceited, maybe narcissistic if you're oversharing."

Similarly, respondents found coworkers who stood out as too private or refused to reciprocate a personal story as off-putting. One employee described a coworker in this way: "He's really hard to read and he doesn't really open up ever… His personality is just less than average. It's not dynamic. It's very... I don't know how to describe it, but not social." One employee who works mostly remotely described a time when he "experimented" by

sharing a personal story with some colleagues at a work conference to see if they would open up in return. When they did not, he resigned to the fact that he would not have the kind of friendly, warm relationships with his colleagues he desired.

In addition, confining intimate or sensitive personal information to close relationships enabled actors to be viewed as warm. When those who felt the need to share such information went to close friends at work, respondents discussed feelings of empathy and compassion for the person's situation. One respondent explained, "If it was somebody else [sharing about their marriage problems], I would have thought it was inappropriate, or just not really cared. But John and I have been friends for two years now." The majority of employees interviewed described having a few close friends at work with whom they could share about more intimate personal topics and know that those friends would respond with acceptance. It is important to note that sharing selectively according to this implicit theory did not require friendship per say. One respondent discussed warm feelings toward a coworker's personal sharing about a death in her family. Although she did not consider this person close friend, she cited a deep sense of trust as the reason such sharing was viewed as appropriate.

Similarly, warmth was also attributed to coworkers who shared less intimate or sensitive personal information in dyadic relationships that were less close. Sharing such personal information was believed to create and enhance feelings of positivity toward and connectedness to one's coworkers. One person explained, "I find those to be kind of surface level things, but at the same time, helpful to feel more connected to my coworkers, and also just to have some common grounds for conversation with my coworkers and have lunch with them more." Thus, matching personal information depth to relationship quality applied to both close and distant relationships.

On the other hand, sharing deep personal content outside of close relationships was not viewed as affectionately. Some employees described times when their coworkers shared unusually sensitive information as uncomfortable or worthy of pity. Other respondents expressed negative interpersonal affect (i.e., less warmth) toward these actors, even if they were not the direct target: "At the other shift, [my coworker] and his girlfriend got in a fight, and his rooms were next to me. He literally told every single person that came into contact with him about all the details of the fight and everything, and it was just like, 'Ugh!'." Thus, sharing personal information about sensitive topics non-selectively is not only likely to preclude warmth evaluations, but also might result in being disliked by others.

Moreover, respondents felt that overall volume of sharing strengthened associations between dyad-based selectivity and warmth. When deep personal sharing is directed to relationships characterized by sharing reciprocity and closeness and trust, those relationships were thought to deepen in warmth and closeness. Practically, this could look like an employee who shared extensively and deeply about his or her personal life in a single high-quality work relationship characterized by similar levels of sharing. At the same time, this employee might also share very surface-level personal information about weekend plans or children's achievements in strictly professional relationships. Overall respondents believed that higher volumes of personal sharing could enhance interpersonal warmth evaluations, as long as the information was shared with dyad-based selectivity in mind.

Hypothesis 5: An actor's dyad-based selectivity is positively associated with warmth evaluations from targets.

Hypothesis 6: An actor's overall personal sharing volume moderates the positive relationship between dyad-based selectivity and warmth evaluations from targets, such that as personal sharing volume increases, the effect of dyad-based selectivity becomes more positive.

The relationships proposed in Hypotheses 1-6 are new theoretical links that emerged from my analyses of the qualitative data. In my interviews, I probed specifically for the cause-and-effect beliefs about sharing personal information at work, consistent with the nature of implicit theories in relational schema (Baldwin, 1992). Respondents focused largely on the consequences for interpersonal evaluations – both in the ways they tried to shape evaluations of themselves and how they evaluated others. However, it is likely that personal sharing also impacts other workplace outcomes through targets' social evaluations of the actor. First, the warmth resulting from relationally-focused selectivity set the foundation for emotion help and interpersonal support, aligning with tenants of high-quality work connection dynamics (Dutton & Heaphy, 2003). Second, a few of the respondents observed that sharing personal information could cultivate bonds for accessing task-related knowledge and help, as well as career related resources necessary for success. For example, one interviewee closed with this thought:

> [W]e to some degree trade on information around our company. When we're trying to learn about a new industry, we're typically asking people for information, asking for access to their conversations. There's a lot of almost informal kind of helping each other out that goes on around the company. And [with] people that know each other personally, that information flows much more freely.

Following these observations, I draw from extant theory to formulate some additional hypotheses about the interpersonal consequences of personal sharing at work.

Indirect Effects of Selectivity and Personal Sharing on Dyadic Exchange

Following employees' beliefs about the effects of selective personal sharing on what their coworkers think of them, do these social evaluations impact the amount and quality of support coworkers are willing to provide? In the following sections, I develop hypotheses regarding targets' behavioral responses to actors' personal sharing through the lens of social exchange theory (SET) (Blau, 1964; Kelley & Thibaut, 1978). Interpersonal behavior can be conceptualized as the exchange of valued resources, often categorized as belonging to one of six different classes: love, status, information, money, goods, and services (Foa & Foa, 1980, 1974). The latter three are largely implicated in economic exchange relationships, or those that involve contractual relationships. The former three are more common indicators of social exchange relationships. In part because their value is not easily defined, parties rely on trust and goodwill that resources such as love, status, and information will be reciprocated in kind. Aligning with this classification, I focus on the provision status and information resources *as instrumental support* and the provision of love resources as *psychosocial support*. Instrumental support is the provision of resources (e.g., status and information) that can enhance an actor's task performance and career success, whereas psychosocial support is the provision of resources (e.g., emotion help, social inclusion) that can enhance the actor's well-being through relationship quality and closeness.

I argue that personal sharing and selectivity can trigger targets' provision of both instrumental and expressive (or, psychosocial) support. Further, I believe that this effect can be explained by targets' assessments of the actor's ability- and benevolence-based trustworthiness, which are respective forms of competence and warmth evaluations. In social exchange, trust is integral in reducing the perceived risks and costs of sharing task

information, while also enhancing the expected benefits of reciprocated sharing (Wang & Noe, 2010). In particular, I propose that instrumental support will be provided in response to enhanced trust in both the actor's abilities and benevolence, whereas psychosocial support is more likely to stem from assessments of the actor's benevolence alone.

Impact of task- and target-based selectivity through ability-based trustworthiness

First, actors' combinations of both task- and target-based selectivity with personal sharing volume should indirectly impact the degree of instrumental support provided to actors by targets. Again, I am focusing on resources that are likely to be instrumental for an actor's task performance and career success: information sharing and deference (attributing status). Further, I expect that greater ability-based trust in the actor will explain this effect. With the rise of both service and knowledge-based economies, effective and smooth interactions with others are increasingly fundamental to task performance (Grant & Ashford, 2008). Thus, an employee who shares personal topics selectively (with regards to task- and target-based concerns), will likely be assessed as more trustworthy in regards to his or her ability to carry out task requirements and perform well (Mayer, Davis, & Schoorman, 1995; McAllister, 1995). In turn, evaluations of ability-based trustworthiness are likely to facilitate instrumental support for the actor. Indeed, interpersonal trust has been linked to increased knowledge sharing in prior research (Chowdhury, 2005; Wu, Hsu, & Yeh, 2007).

Task- and target-based selectivity might signal the actor's potential value as a social exchange partner in a few ways. By sharing selectively with these criteria, employees can actively construct the nature of their interpersonal role in relationships to particular targets (Stryker & Statham, 1985). Specifically, these two forms of selectivity demonstrate the

actor's ability and intention to put collective and organizational goals above their own personal goals. For example, providing personal explanations for poor performance at work (especially when the actor shares personal information relatively infrequently) acknowledges and justifies a temporary inequity in social exchange with one's coworkers. This might give targets assurances that actors possess the ability and intention to contribute valued resources in an exchange relationship. In addition, respecting targets' preferences for personal interactions signals that actors can regulate their expressive behavior in ways that maintain positive and professional working relationships with their coworkers. Moreover, sharing some personal information, rather than communicating strictly about the task, is an important component of high-quality lateral exchange relationships (Liden, Wayne, & Sparrowe, 2000). As a target experiences this pattern of selective personal sharing over time, he or she should begin to trust that the actor can and will fulfill role expectations and requirements of a cooperative coworker (Sluss & Ashforth, 2007), and thus be more likely to provide instrumental support to that person.

Hypothesis 7a: An actor's task-based selectivity is positively associated with a target's instrumental support directed to the actor, and this relationship is mediated by the degree to which the target perceives the actor as worthy of ability-based trust.

Hypothesis 7b: An actor's personal sharing volume will attenuate the relationship between task-based selectivity and the degree to which the target perceives the actor as worthy of ability-based trust.

Hypothesis 8a: An actor's target-based selectivity is positively associated with a target's instrumental support directed to the actor, and this relationship is mediated by the degree to which the target perceives the actor as worthy of ability-based trust.

Hypothesis 8b: An actor's personal sharing volume will enhance the relationship between target-based selectivity and the degree to which the target perceives the actor as worthy of ability-based trust.

Impact of dyad-based selectivity through both ability- and benevolence-based trustworthiness

I expect that dyad-based selectivity and personal sharing volume will also be indirectly associated with instrumental support, but through their effect on assessments of benevolence-based trustworthiness. Benevolence-based trust (Mayer et al., 1995) is that which develops through an emotional bond between two people (McAllister, 1995). First, social exchange relies on a norm of reciprocity (Gouldner, 1960). When actors strive to maintain equitable levels of personal sharing within relationships, this can signal to targets reciprocity intentions in the exchange of other resources. Thus, targets might perceive less risk in providing instrumental support to targets who have demonstrated care and goodwill (i.e., benevolence) with regards to equitable exchange of personal sharing.

On the other hand, inequitable exchange of personal sharing has the potential to create power imbalances, particularly when the information reveals a vulnerability. Over time, targets who feel they have accumulated a vulnerability "surplus" relative to the actor might begin to doubt the goodwill of the actor. As a result, targets could withhold information and status from the actor to try to re-establish the perceived imbalance (Adams, 1965).

As revealed in the qualitative analysis summarized above, employees with high levels of dyad-based selectivity were likely to discuss deeper, more intimate topics that form an affective foundation of trust, but only to coworkers with whom they had a similarly deep relationship. Thus, they were likely to deepen trust in some relationships, while still

maintaining high-quality connections in less deep relationships. In contrast, those who rarely shared personal information at all were seen as relationally and emotionally distant from the rest of their coworkers. Benevolence-based trust in particular has been associated with the exchange of instrumental resources, such as information (McAllister, 1995). Thus, this pattern of personal sharing might also provide an overall positive interpersonal affectivity, which has been found to be essential for the exchange of instrumental resources (Casciaro & Lobo, 2008). Personal sharing combined with dyad-based selectivity should in combination facilitate instrumental support through these affective trust-based mechanisms.

Hypothesis 9a: An actor's dyad-based selectivity is positively associated with a target's instrumental support directed to the actor, and this relationship is mediated by the degree to which the target perceives the actor as worthy of ability-based trust.

Hypothesis 9b: An actor's personal sharing volume enhances the relationship between dyad-based selectivity and the degree to which the target perceives the actor as worthy of ability-based trust.

Finally, sharing personal information with dyad-based selectivity is likely to promote psychosocial support from targets. Although organizational scholars have previously theorized that personal sharing in the absence of perceived similarity can result in poorer relationship quality (Phillips et al., 2009; Pillemer & Rothbard, 2018), other theories predict a positive and reciprocal relationship between sharing and relational closeness and support (Altman & Taylor, 1973). I argue that to resolve these contradictions, both organizational and relational contexts must be considered.

Social exchange theory applies uniquely to interpersonal behavior and connections in organizational contexts. Within relationships characterized by social exchange, personal

sharing with attention to both reciprocity and preexisting relationship quality (i.e., dyad-based selectivity) is likely to garner a response of psychosocial support form targets. Attending to the unique connection and interaction history with the target, actors are more likely to share personal information in ways that align with the norms of the relationship and expectations of the target. In doing so, actors can signal the degree of need to targets that lies within the purview of those relational expectations. For example, in a casual colleague relationship an actor might share about a child's scholastic accomplishment. The actor and target are both likely to feel that reciprocation in the form of a congratulatory, supportive response is a reasonable expectation given the nature of their relationship.

At some point, however requests for help implied by sharing deeply personal information might outweigh a coworker's expectation for reciprocity. That is, the target might feel that providing such help lies outside the norms of colleague relationships characterized by social exchange, instead aligning more with expectations for personal sharing in relationships characterized by communal exchange (Cropanzano & Mitchell, 2005). Communal exchange relationships are those with bonds so strong that imbalances in resource exchange are an accepted and expected part of the dynamic, as in familial and intimate partnerships or close friendships (Clark & Mills, 2011). Such relationships can exist in organizations when coworkers identify one another as close friends. In those types of work relationships inequity in social exchange created by frequency or depth of personal sharing is expected and reciprocated with feelings of empathy and provision of support (Pillemer & Rothbard, 2018). Sharing similar personal information in the context of a social exchange relationship, however, is more likely to be met with targets' self-focused feelings of discomfort or distress.

Interestingly, some interviewees shared very little personal information regardless of the nature of their relationship with the target. In choosing to maintain a high level of privacy, they knowingly and at times intentionally created distance from coworkers, a relational goal not often considered outside of the work context (Pillemer & Rothbard, 2018). As a result, their coworkers were denied the opportunity to respond compassionately or supportively. Thus, dyad-based selectivity, along with personal sharing volume, are likely to influence targets' psychosocial support through benevolence-based trust assessments. The full theoretical model can be found in Figure 1.

Hypothesis 10a: An actor's dyad-based selectivity is positively associated with a target's psychosocial support directed to the actor, and this relationship is enhanced by the degree to which the target perceives the actor as worthy of benevolence-based trust

Hypothesis 10b: An actor's personal sharing volume enhances the relationship between dyad-based selectivity and the degree to which the target perceives the actor as worthy of benevolence-based trust.

DISCUSSION

The aim of this initial investigation was to take a deep dive into the construct of personal sharing with colleagues. Some research has considered the interpersonal consequences of a specific form of personal sharing (e.g., disclosing concealable stigmas) or as one tool for work/non-work boundary management. Together, these studies have found that colleagues might react both positively and negatively when personal information is shared, generating confusion in the literature regarding how (and whether) employees might achieve the benefits and avoid social risks associated with personal sharing. To

address this confusion, I qualitatively examined the implicit theories employees use to guide their own personal sharing and predict the reactions of others.

The main finding that emerged from my inductive study was the construct of selectivity, the degree of variation in personal sharing across content and targets. Respondents' three implicit theories provided a rich contextualization overlaying and directing the volume of personal information shared. Contradicting theories rooted in relationship science, which generally predict positive and reciprocal relationships between personal information sharing (volume and depth) with relationship quality (Altman & Taylor, 1973; Laurenceau et al., 1998), interview respondents painted a much more nuanced picture. Specifically, they described appropriate personal sharing as that which takes into account task-, target-, and dyad-based contexts. These considerations are largely unique to workplace relationships, and thus have not been identified in extensive theories of personal sharing developed to explain its consequences in non-work relationships.

In addition to the inductive hypotheses emerging from my qualitative data, I forwarded a set of propositions about the downstream consequences of personal sharing volume and selectivity on both psychosocial and instrumental forms of exchange. Guided by tenants of social exchange theory, I posited that all three forms of selectivity would be indirectly associated with instrumental support from targets, through enhanced assessments of trustworthiness. Dyad-based selectivity in particular was theorized to have an indirect link to psychosocial forms of support from targets through affect-based trustworthiness. In Chapter 4, I will further develop the construct of selectivity and its convergent and discriminant validity. Using the resulting measure of selectivity with task-, target-, and dyad-based subdimensions, I will empirically test the full model proposed in this chapter

outlining relationships between personal sharing (volume and selectivity) and interpersonal evaluations and support.

Chapter 4:
Study 2 – Construct and Instrument Development

In Study 1, I used a qualitative approach to uncover employees' implicit theories for personal sharing in relational schemas with coworkers. Specific patterns emerged, from which I proposed combinations of personal sharing *volume* with high or low *selectivity* relative to implicit theories were helpful or harmful to the targets' interpersonal evaluations of and social exchange (psychosocial and instrumental support) with the actor. Following this theory-building, I embarked on series of studies to further develop the construct of selectivity in personal sharing, as well as build a psychometrically sound measure for its three dimensions.

CONVERGENT AND DISCRIMINANT VALIDITY

Before embarking on a field study to test the theorized model, it is important to further develop instrumentation for the construct of selectivity in personal sharing (Campbell, 1960). I define *selectivity* in personal sharing as an actor's intentional creation of variation in personal sharing across content and targets. According to this definition, selectivity is not an individual difference or a feature of the actor's personality. Rather, it is an actor's purposeful modulation of his or her communicative behavior. Further, this variance is expected to exhibit patterns that reflect the three implicit theories found in Study 1 (for task-, target-, and dyad-based selectivity), and each implicit theory should conceptually and empirically map onto (i.e., converge with) the dimension of selectivity with which it is associated.

To establish discriminant validity, selectivity must be differentiated from its nearby constructs. Specifically, I will examine two sets of such constructs: one that relates specifically to sharing personal information, and a second that is relevant to the definition

of selectivity. First, the measure for selectivity in personal sharing should emerge as distinct from one measuring *personal sharing volume*. Although volume and selectivity both describe the act of sharing personal information, the degree of variation across content and targets (i.e., selectivity) should be empirically distinguishable from amount of personal information an employee tends to share across all colleagues and topics (i.e., volume). However, a moderate empirical association is expected, as little selectivity can occur at the theoretical minimum and maximum of volume.

In addition, selectivity should be related but distinct from a measure of *taboo topic avoidance* at work. In Study 1, I found that the interviews as a whole did not suggest that avoiding a set of topics was the key to appropriate personal information sharing with colleagues. However, some interviewees noted a few particularly sensitive topics that they regarded as culturally-rooted "taboos," or subjects to be avoided across domains. Thus, I wanted to distinguish selectivity in personal sharing, which is about choosing which topics to share with whom, from taboo-topic avoidance, which is about refraining from discussing topics that might cause discomfort regardless of the target.

For the second set of nearby constructs, I included those that do not directly imply personal information, but could still coincide with selectivity. *Self-monitoring*, the extent to which an individual tends to observe and control expressive behavior and self-presentation (Snyder, 1974) is a personality trait that is likely correlated with selectivity, but not completely overlapping. Experimental evidence suggests that those high in self-monitoring are more likely to vary their behavior by reciprocating similar levels of intimacy, emotionality, and descriptiveness with which others share with them (Shaffer, Smith, & Tomarelli, 1982). As reciprocity reflects one aspect of selectivity (dyad-based), it is reasonable to expect similar associations between selectivity and self-monitoring.

Moreover, because self-monitoring is conceptualized as a trait, I posit that the nature of this association is that high self-monitors are more likely to develop implicit theories associated with selectivity in personal sharing.

However, selectivity is distinct from self-monitoring in a few key ways. First, selectivity is a behavior that can be learned, whereas self-monitoring is conceptualized as an individual difference (Gangestad & Snyder, 1985). Implicit theories for selectivity in personal sharing might be shaped by the culture of one's organization or past interpersonal experiences and observations, whereas self-monitoring is theorized to be stable across time and context. In addition, self-monitoring theory posits that individuals high in the trait will adjust their expressive behavior primarily to enhance their image and status in the eyes of others (Flynn, Reagans, Amanatullah, & Ames, 2006). This pattern might be consistent among actors who are highly selective while providing low to moderate levels of personal information overall, but it would not necessarily fit the pattern of sharers who disclose frequently but selectively. In those cases, high selectivity was associated not solely with image or status concerns, but also positive relationship development and maintenance with coworkers.

In addition, my qualitative interview data supported the notion that high self-monitoring could co-occur with low selectivity in personal sharing. One man reported sharing non-selectively and at a high volume about his personal life in ways that were obviously highly entertaining to his work group, as evidenced by the questions they asked and their positive reactions to his sharing. This behavior is consistent with high self-monitoring, adjusting one's expressive behavior to the social setting, but low selectivity in personal sharing. For these reasons, I posit that self-monitoring personality might be more

likely to lead to selectivity in personal sharing, but the two will be empirically distinguishable.

In addition, selectivity is distinct from *political skill*, "the ability to effectively understand others at work, and to use such knowledge to influence others to act in ways that enhance one's personal and/or organizational objectives" (Ferris et al., 2005: 127). Like its distinction from self-monitoring, selectivity is not an individual difference or aptitude, but an observable set of behaviors. In addition, sharing selectivity might be one tool those with high political skill use to accomplish their interpersonal objectives, but it is not a necessary component of attempting to understand and influence others at work. In addition, implicit theories for selectivity are about sharing personal information in ways that are appropriate, but not necessarily instrumental for reaching social or task-related goals.

I will investigate the discriminant validity of selectivity with each subdimension of political skill: *networking ability, interpersonal influence, social astuteness,* and *apparent sincerity*. Networking ability might have the clearest distinction from selectivity, in that it involves scanning the social landscape of the organization to target the most influential and instrumental ties. Selectivity need not be implicated in forming those ties, although my theorizing suggests it might be helpful in this endeavor. Interpersonal influence might be most closely related to target-based selectivity in that it is similarly target-focused. However, the focus of interpersonal influence is communicating in ways that elicit specific (positive) responses from targets, whereas target-based selectivity is simply sharing (or withholding) personal information with the target's needs and preferences in mind. I expect that social astuteness, the ability to comprehend social interactions and accurately interpret social behavior, will be an important component in the tendency to form implicit theories

for selectivity, but these understandings need not lead to such implicit rules. Lastly, selectivity might or might not be interpreted by others as authentic or genuine, as is the case with the apparent sincerity dimension of political skill.

Finally, selectivity is not expected to overlap significantly with the personality trait of *extraversion*. People high in extraversion tend to be very social, energetic, assertive, and high in positive affectivity (Costa & McCrae, 1992). Highly selective sharers might be highly extraverted or introverted – with selective introverts sharing less frequently overall yet varying what they choose to share across targets. It is also important to note that extraverts will not necessarily share *personal* information at an overall higher volume than introverts, but instead simply converse or interact more often. Individuals can share very little about themselves and still be highly sociable (by talking about other things) or share a great deal about themselves while desiring contact with only a few coworkers.

In sum, I expect that task-, target-, and dyad-based selectivity will emerge empirically as subdimensions of the overall selectivity construct. In addition, these components of selectivity are expected to demonstrate empirical distinctions from personal sharing volume, taboo topic avoidance, self-monitoring, the four dimensions of political skill, and extraversion, in that selectivity will not be completely subsumed by them. Despite some distinctions, I have theorized that some of these constructs will overlap with selectivity in specific ways. Self-monitoring is a logical antecedent to selectivity as a whole. In addition, selectivity is likely to co-occur with dimensions of political skill. Finally, I theorize that there will *not* be an association between selectivity dimensions and extraversion. I followed steps recommended in the literature (Brown, Trevino, & Harrison, 2005; Hinkin, 1998) to empirically affirm these predictions of discriminant and convergent construct validity, and to develop a psychometrically sound measure of selectivity.

STUDY 2A: INITIAL ITEM GENERATION AND REDUCTION

Implicit theories, which will form the foundation for criteria of selectivity, are commonly measured through self-report (Chiu, Dweck, Tong, & Fu, 1997; Levy, Chiu, & Hong, 2006; Plaks, Grant, & Dweck, 2005). Thus, following methodology used to develop a similar construct measure (implicit theories of upward voice in organizations; Detert & Edmondson, 2011), the content of each implicit theory for personal sharing, along with language used by Study 1 interview respondents served as the basis for item generation. Because the implicit theories for target-based and dyad-based selectivity were more elaborate than the one for task-based selectivity, twice as many items were generated for the former two subdimensions. The initial list of 20 items (4 task-based selectivity, 8 target-based selectivity, and 8 dyad-based selectivity) can be found in Table 3.

Following item generation, I administered these items along with measures of nearby constructs (self-monitoring, political skill, and extraversion), to an initial sample of 152 people through Amazon's Mechanical Turk (Study 2a). Each of the selectivity items demonstrated an adequate correlation with the rest of the scale items (> 0.40), as recommended by Hinkin (1998). The same was true when examining the interitem correlations for each of the three subdimensions. After this initial check of item correlations, I conducted an exploratory factor analysis (EFA), focusing only on the selectivity items. Consistent with the three subdimensions of selectivity that emerged from Study 1, parallel analysis with random data baselines suggested a three-factor solution. Based on the results of a principle axis factor analysis with oblique Promax rotation and three factors, I retained the four highest-loading items for each factor (factor loadings ranged from .59 to .93). I also ensured that none of these items had significant cross-loadings onto other factors (all were lower than .30). This resulted in the elimination of

four target-based selectivity items (2, 3, 4, and 8) and four dyad-based selectivity items (1, 2, 6, 7). All four of the original task-based selectivity items demonstrated an adequate factor structure. I repeated the factor analysis a second time to ensure a clear factor structure. The factor with the four task-based selectivity items explained the largest proportion of variance at 22%, followed by the target-based factor (19%) and the dyad-based factor (18%).

Following this initial reduction of items, I conducted a second EFA on the same sample to include self-monitoring, political skill, and extraversion. Again conducting a parallel analysis with oblique Promax rotation, I examined the structure of the six-factor solution. Both the task-based and target-based selectivity factors demonstrated a strong factor structure, with within-factor loadings ranging from .55 to .86 and cross-loadings of lower than .30. One dyad-based selectivity item ("I consider how much trust has been built between this person and me") loaded onto the political skill factor, and thus was eliminated.

The Study 2a correlations among self-monitoring, political skill and its subscales, extraversion, and the final selectivity scale and its subscales can also be found in Table 4. As expected, the subdimensions of selectivity were related but not completely overlapping. In addition, neither selectivity nor its subscales were completely overlapping with self-monitoring, political skill, or extraversion. Despite my theorizing about the self-monitoring personality trait as a potential antecedent to selectivity, there was no correlation between the two. There were also no associations between extraversion and selectivity (nor any of its subdimensions). Because I argue that extraversion has the least theoretical overlap with selectivity, I will exclude it in the following construct validation studies.

STUDY 2B: EXPERT CONTENT VALIDATION

After narrowing down the initial set of items through EFA, Study 2b consisted of an expert rating investigation (Schriesheim, Cogliser, Scandura, Lankau, & Powers, 1999). A sample of judges who are knowledgeable about the construct can help to establish that (1) selectivity construct items fit their construct definition better than the definition of nearby constructs, and (2) that nearby construct items fit their construct definitions better than the definition of selectivity. Using an online questionnaire, 23 management faculty and doctoral students rated each scale item on the extent to which it reflected the construct definition provided. Construct definitions for task-, target-, and dyad-based selectivity were provided, as were definitions of self-monitoring and political skill (the two constructs theorized to have some overlap with selectivity). Judges rated each item on a 5-point scale anchored by 1 (item fits the provided definition "very poorly") and 5 (item fits the provided definition "very well") and were *not* told which items were taken from which instrument.

According to procedures outlined in Schriesheim et al. (1999), I conducted an R-factor analysis on an extended matrix of the judges' ratings. Data were arranged with the 47 scale items as columns, and 115 rows of construct ratings (23 judges rated the fit of all 47 scale items to 5 separate construct definitions, yielding 115 rows). Results of the five-factor solution, presented in Table 5, yielded a clean simple structure (with the exception of one item from the political skill scale that loaded onto the self-monitoring factor). Thus, this investigation suggested that the measurements developed for task-, target-, and dyad-based selectivity contain adequate content relative to their construct definitions and the definitions of similar constructs.

STUDY 2C: CONVERGENT AND DISCRIMINANT VALIDITY

Finally, Study 2c examined the convergent and discriminant validity for the full construct space, including the set of personal sharing constructs (selectivity, volume, and taboo topic avoidance), as well as nearby constructs of self-monitoring and political skill. This analysis was also done to confirm the multi-dimensionality of selectivity as superior to selectivity as a unidimensional construct. A third independent sample of working adults (N=200) was collected through MTurk for a series of CFAs. With the three dimensions of selectivity and full set of nearby constructs, I expected results to confirm a seven-factor structure.

Personal sharing volume was measured with three items from a measure of task-specific information sharing (Bunderson & Sutcliffe, 2002), adapted to refer to personal information specifically. In addition, four items measured *taboo topic avoidance* at work. I developed these items based on additional qualitative analysis of the Study 1 interview data. Specifically, I examined the interviews for the most frequently cited topics that were regarded as highly sensitive when sharing personal information with colleagues. These included the topics of sexuality or intimate relations, sensitive issues regarding one's own body, and personal finances. Thus, I constructed three items about the tendency to avoid each of these three topics, along with a fourth summary item: "I keep from talking about anything 'taboo' that might make somebody really uncomfortable."

I first examined an under-factored model, wherein the three dimensions of selectivity were treated as one factor. None of the five-factor model fit statistics (RMSEA, NNFI, CFI, and SRMR) reached thresholds recommended by Hu and Bentler (1999), suggesting sub-optimal fit. Second, I examined three different versions of a six-factor solution, creating all of the possible combinations of two factors from the three dimensions

of selectivity. The χ^2 for each of these six-factor solutions was significantly improved over the five-factor solution, with the greatest improvement observed in the solution that combined the target- and dyad-based selectivity dimensions. Accordingly, I compared the latter best-fitting six-factor solution to the target seven-factor solution (with all three dimensions of selectivity as separate factors). The χ^2 for the seven-factor solution demonstrated a significant improvement in fit to that under-factored solution ($\Delta\ \chi^2$ = 53.99, Δ df = 6, $p < .05$). In addition, the model fit indices met or exceeded recommended thresholds, with the exception of the CFI, which was slightly under .95 (at .92). These results, along with scale correlations and reliabilities, can be found in Tables 6 and 7, respectively. Collectively, I take the results of Studies 2a-c as evidence that this measure of selectivity is a valid indicator of the underlying construct, with satisfactory discriminant and convergent validity.

Chapter 5:
Study 3 – Empirical Test of Theorized Model

Following the development and validation of a measure for selectivity in personal sharing, I proceeded with an empirical test of the theoretical model developed in Chapter 3. Hypotheses linking task- and target-based selectivity to competence evaluations, and dyad-based selectivity to warmth evaluations, emerged from findings in my initial qualitative study (Study 1). Building on those findings, I theorized that selectivity would also be associated with downstream consequences for instrumental and psychosocial support provided to focal actors by their coworkers. The model depicted in Figure 1 emerged from this combination of qualitative analysis and supplemental theorizing. Subsequently, I used the measures developed in Chapter 4 to test this model in a multi-wave field study. Thus, the primary aim of this field study was to answer the third and final question posed in Chapter 1: *What are the interpersonal consequences of personal sharing with coworkers?*

A sample of employees from the marketing and communications departments of a large pharmaceutical company, answered questions about their own personal sharing and selectivity, and those responses were matched with social evaluations of the actor's ability- and benevolence-based trustworthiness (Wave 1). Two to three months later, I collected data on targets' instrumental and psychosocial support provided to actors (Wave 2). Results supported a few core propositions developed in Chapter 3, but failed to support the full moderated mediation model.

METHOD

Participants and Procedure

I administered online questionnaires to 137 employees in the communications and marketing departments of a large pharmaceutical company in the Northeast. Employee groupings of 4-7 employees were determined on the basis of an organizational chart provided to me. In Wave 1, respondents were emailed a link to an online form (Qualtrics), in which they were asked to answer questions about themselves and their coworkers (the 3-6 coworkers in their respective groupings). In most cases, managers were grouped with other managers, rather than asking managers to rate their direct reports and vice versa. Employees thus rated a set of coworkers they were likely to consider peers, but with whom they might or might not have a high degree of functional interdependence. Nevertheless, I expected that their placements in the organizational chart would enhance the likelihood that they were at the least familiar with one another, and at the most working closely together on a daily basis (i.e., a wide variety of potential for social interaction). In addition, predetermining these subgroupings ensured that participants did not only choose to rate the coworkers for whom they already had a positive view or had established a close relationship. A link to the Wave 2 questionnaire was sent out between two and three months after the first. Employees rated the same coworkers on the dependent measures.

In addition to having the endorsement of top management, I compensated participants with a $15 gift card for completing both waves, along with a chance to win one $500 donation to a charitable organization of their choosing. The response rate for Wave 1 was 69%. Of those Wave 1 respondents, 82% also completed Wave 2. Seven participants who responded at Wave 1 had no peer ratings, and therefore had to be dropped from the sample. Because Wave 2 measures consisted of multiple peer ratings, it was not

necessary for every participant from Wave 1 to also respond to the Wave 2 questionnaire in order to retain them in the final sample. That is, as long as at least one coworker provided a peer rating of a Wave 1 participant, the observation was maintained in the analysis.

Thus, the final sample consisted of N=81 employees. Of these, 79% were women, which is consistent with the proportion of women in in the communications and marketing departments as a whole (roughly 73%). Respondents' mean age was 36.47 and they had worked for the company for an average of 4.49 years. The overwhelming majority (90%) reported their race as white.

Personal Sharing and Selectivity Measures

Participants answered questions about themselves (self-report) and about 3-6 of their colleagues (peer-ratings). Self-reported *task-based* ($\alpha = .87$), *target-based* ($\alpha = .82$), and *dyad-based* ($\alpha = .70$) *selectivity* were measured with the items developed and validated in Study 2. *Taboo-topic avoidance* ($\alpha = .83$), the self-reported tendency to avoid certain sensitive topics at work, was measured with four items, also developed in Study 2. *Personal sharing volume* ($\alpha = .92$), was measured using self-reported items from an information sharing scale (Bunderson & Sutcliffe, 2002), adapted to refer specifically to personal information, rather than information about the task. All self-reports were collected at Wave 1.

Interpersonal Evaluation and Support Measures

To rate their peers, respondents were asked to answer questions about specific (named) coworkers; these responses were later aggregated and matched to focal actor's self-reports. To prevent survey fatigue during such forms of data collection, researchers often use single-item measures of interpersonal perceptions, relationships, and behaviors

(e.g., Bunderson, 2003; Cohen & Zhou, 1991; Joshi & Knight, 2015). When single items had been validated for use in prior studies, I used those measures. When prior validation was not available, I selected the single best item from its full measure based on data structures observed in a separate sample (from Study 2d). The single best items were those that had the highest item-total correlation with the full scale, and often also demonstrated the highest factor loading with the full scale. Unless noted otherwise, respondents were prompted to indicate the extent to which they agreed with the statements on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

Interpersonal evaluations were measured at Wave 1. Peer-rated *competence* (Tyler & Blader, 2002) was measured with the item, " I value this person as a member of our work group." This item was strongly and positively related to the full 6-item scale collected in a separate sample (r = .92; factor loading = .93). Respondents also rated the *warmth* of their coworkers with an item validated for use in a prior study of warmth and competence in organizational social networks (Casciaro & Lobo, 2008): "I find this person enjoyable to work with." *Ability-based trustworthiness* and *benevolence-based trustworthiness* were captured with one item each: "I believe this person has the ability to complete high-quality work; they have the knowledge and skills needed" and "This person is concerned for my welfare; they are looking out for me, would go out of the way to help me, and would not knowingly do anything to hurt me" for ability-based and benevolence-based trustworthiness, respectively. These were developed and validated by Jones and Shah (2016) for use in an investigation of interpersonal trust in teams. The ability-based trustworthiness item and the benevolence-based trustworthiness item were each positively and significantly related to Mayer and Davis's (1999) full perceived trustworthiness scale (r = .72 for ability based and r = .69 for benevolence-based).

The main criterion variables, collected at Wave 2, were indicators of two different types of behavioral support – instrumental and psychosocial – provided to focal actor. Because these are interpersonally directed behaviors, they were collected as peer reports in the same manner as the interpersonal perceptions. The three types of instrumental support measured were *information sharing* (about the task), *deference* (i.e., conferral of status to the focal actor), and *task-based conflict* with the focal actor (with greater task-based conflict indicating lower instrumental support).

An existing three-item information sharing scale was adapted to refer to specific coworkers (Bunderson & Sutcliffe, 2002). The items ($\alpha = .88$) were, "I freely share information used to make key decisions with this person," "I work hard to keep this person up to date on relevant work activities," and "I keep this person in the loop about key issues affecting the business unit." I employed a single-item measure for interpersonal *deference* that had been validated for a previous investigation (Joshi & Knight, 2015; reported correlation with original scale of r = .79). Respondents were asked to what extent they "defer to this person's work-related opinions." Finally, a single task-based conflict item was selected based on psychometrics reported in the original measure development (Jehn & Mannix, 2001). Respondents answered the question, adapted to refer to a specific person (rather than the team as a whole), "How much conflict of ideas (about work tasks or projects) is there between you and this person?" on the same scale as the original measure (1 = none at all to 5 = a great deal). This item had a loading of .91 onto the original task conflict factor.

The three indicators of psychosocial support provided to the actor were interpersonally-directed *organizational citizenship behaviors* (OCB-Is), *ostracism* (with more ostracism indicating lower psychosocial support), and *relationship conflict* (with

more relationship conflict indicating lower psychosocial support). Peer OCB-Is toward focal actors was measured with three items ($\alpha = .76$) from an extant measure of coworker-specific work behavior (Dalal, Lam, Weiss, Welch, & Hulin, 2009). They were, "I went out of my way to be nice to this person," "I try to help this person," and "I speak highly about this person to others." Ostracism was measured with the item "I tend to ignore or avoid this person." This statement was strongly and positively related in an independent sample to the full 10-item measure of ostracism behavior (r = .79, factor loading = .78) developed by Ferris and colleagues (2008). Finally, as with task conflict, the item chosen to measure relationship conflict was the one reported as having the highest factor loading (.90) in the original conflict scale development (Jehn & Mannix, 2001). It was adapted to refer to a specific individual, reading, "How much relationship tension is there between you and this person?"

Control Variables

Finally, I controlled for a number of covariates. Prior research has found that *self-esteem* (Rosenberg, 1965) and *agreeableness* (Costa & McCrae, 1992) can influence individuals' tendencies to disclose certain kinds of personal information (McCarthy et al., 2017). In addition, I controlled for *self-monitoring* (Snyder, 1974), as it might overlap with selectivity in personal sharing, as well as *extraversion* (Costa & McCrae, 1992), which might overlap with personal sharing volume. An individual's *job satisfaction* (Brayfield & Rothe, 1951) has a substantial impact on a wide range of work behaviors (Harrison, Newman, & Roth, 2006), which likely includes both personal sharing and helping coworkers. *Gender* and *age* could also be factors influencing personal sharing volume (Cozby, 1973), and were thus included in the models as controls. Finally, to control for the

possibility that newcomers might be less open about their personal lives with their new coworkers (Uhlmann et al., 2013), I included *organizational tenure* as a control.

Taking into account the nature of the relationships between the focal actor and the targets selected to provide his or her peer ratings, I controlled for average relationship strength. This was measured using a single item validated in a prior investigation (Selfhout, Denissen, Branje, & Meeus, 2009), which asked instructed respondents to "Please indicate to what degree you are friends with this person" on a scale from 1 = "far acquaintance" to 7 = "my best friend." Finally, I wanted to account for the possibility actors who received a greater number of peer ratings also received more favorable peer ratings due to, for example, greater centrality in the formal workflow structure or higher informal status with peers. Thus, I included a variable controlling for the *number of peer ratings* received by a focal actor (5 participants received 1 peer rating, 25 received 2 peer ratings, 30 received 3 peer ratings, 20 received 4 peer ratings, and 11 received 5 peer ratings). A full list of study measures can be found in Appendix B.

Analyses

Hypotheses for direct and moderated effects of selectivity were tested using hierarchical linear modeling (HLM). I included fixed effects for the coworker groupings to account for participants' nesting within common supervisors and job functions. However, all of the focal and control variables were considered Level 1. Tests for mediation (Hypotheses 7-10) were conducted using multilevel mediation software MLmed (Rockwood, 2017) in SPSS. This analysis yields parameter estimates for the indirect effect and Monte Carlo confidence intervals. Given that I am trying to detect small effect sizes

(across both rating sources and time) with a relatively small sample, I use the cutoff of p < .10 to determine significance levels of estimated effects.

RESULTS

Prior to hypothesis testing, I reaffirmed the factor structure of selectivity dimensions (task-based, target-based, and dyad-based), personal sharing volume, and taboo topic avoidance. Fit statistics for this five-factor model were $\chi^2_{125} = 160.41$, p <.05; root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) = .06 (90% CI of .03 - .08), non-normative fit index (NNFI) = .94, comparative fit index (CFI) = .95, root, standardized root mean square residual (SRMR) = .09. This model demonstrated a significant improvement in fit over every possible four-factor model (*p*s < .01). The minimum improvement in fit was observed between the four-factor model treating task-based and target-based selectivity as a single factor ($\Delta\chi^2_{\Delta 4} = 91.06$, $p < .01$). Descriptive statistics and correlations among all study variables are presented in Table 8, with scale reliabilities (where applicable) in bold along the diagonal.

Impact of Selectivity on Competence and Warmth Evaluations

Results for Hypotheses 1-4 are presented in Table 9 (Models 1-3), and results for Hypotheses 5-6 are presented in Table 10 (Models 4-6). Hypothesis 1 predicted that an actor's task-based selectivity would be positively associated with competence evaluations from targets. The results presented in Model 2 supported this hypothesis; the effect of task-based selectivity on competence evaluations was significant ($b = .13$, p = .03). However, this effect was not moderated by personal sharing volume ($b = .00$, $p = .94$.; Model 3), failing to support Hypothesis 2. Hypotheses 3 and 4 were also not supported. There was no association between target-based selectivity and competence evaluations ($b = -.12$, $p = .26$;

Hypothesis 3; Model 2), nor was the interaction between target-based selectivity and personal sharing volume significant (b = -.04, p = .45; Hypothesis 4; Model 3). Turning to dyad-based selectivity and its hypothesized association with warmth evaluations from targets (Hypothesis 5), the coefficient in Table 10 (Model 5) was significant (b = .18, p = .06). Although Hypothesis 5 was supported, Hypothesis 6 was not. Volume did not impact the effect of dyad-based selectivity on warmth evaluations (b = -.06, p = .20; Model 6). Notably, there were no direct effects for either volume or taboo topic avoidance on either competence or warmth (all ps > .10).

In sum, the initial set of results supported Hypotheses 1 and 5. Task-based selectivity was significantly and positively linked to evaluations of the actor's competence, while dyad-based selectivity was positively and significantly related to evaluations of the actor's warmth. However, neither of these effects was contingent on the actor's overall personal sharing volume. Counter to expectations and outside of my hypothesizing, Model 5 indicated that target-based selectivity was significantly and *negatively* associated with warmth evaluations from targets (b = -.25, p = .05). I will revisit this finding in the Discussion section.

Impact of Selectivity on Instrumental and Psychosocial Support

Hypotheses 7-10 predicted a series of moderated mediation models with instrumental support provided to the focal actor as the outcome. As a preliminary test, I investigated the presence of direct effects of selectivity on the three indicators of instrumental support (information sharing, deference, and task conflict) and the three indicators of psychosocial support (OCB-Is, ostracism, and relationship conflict). The results of these HLMs predicting instrumental support are presented in Table 11 (Models

7-9), and the ones predicting psychosocial support are presented in Table 12 (Models 10-12). First, task-based selectivity (Hypothesis 7) had no significant impacts on the three forms of instrumental support. Second, target-based selectivity (Hypothesis 8) had no association with information sharing and deference, but a positive association with task conflict (b = .17, p = .03). These results directly contradicted H8a. Third, dyad-based selectivity was theorized to be indirectly associated with both instrumental (Hypothesis 9) and psychosocial (Hypothesis 10) supports. It was associated with one of the three forms of each type of support: lower task conflict (b = -.11, p = .08) and lower ostracism (b = -.25, p = .01).

Despite these mixed results, I proceeded with formal tests of multilevel mediation, followed by moderated mediation, whereby volume would qualify the indirect effects of selectivity on interpersonal support, through perceptions of the actor's trustworthiness. These results are summarized in Table 13. Specifically, to test Hypothesis 7a, I entered task-based selectivity as the independent variable, perceptions of the actor's ability-based trust as the mediator into the MLmed program. Three models were run, with each of the three instrumental support variables as the dependent variable (information sharing, deference, and task conflict, respectively). Although ability-based trust was significantly associated with both information sharing and deference, there were no indirect effects of task-based selectivity on instrumental supports provided to the actor. Thus, Hypothesis 7a was not supported. In addition, no support was found for an interaction between task-based selectivity and volume on ability-based trust, nor an indirect effect of this interaction on instrumental supports through ability-based trust (Hypothesis 7b).

The tests for Hypothesis 8-10 were conducted in the same manner as Hypothesis 7. Consistent with the (unexpectedly) negative association between target-based selectivity

and competence evaluations found in Model 5, target-based selectivity also had a significant and negative relationship with ability-based trust (Est. = -.25, LL = -.47, UL = -.02). In addition, target-based selectivity had a significantly negative indirect effect on both information sharing (indirect effect = -.10, LL = -.23, UL = -.01) and deference (indirect effect = -.12, LL = -.31, UL = -.01) through targets' assessments of the actor's ability-based trust. The indirect effect for task conflict was not significant. Thus, not only was Hypothesis 8a unsupported, but its reverse was found for two of the three forms of instrumental support. Hypothesis 8b, regarding mediation for the interaction between target-based selectivity and volume received no support.

Hypothesis 9a-b and Hypothesis 10a-b received no support. Neither dyad-based selectivity, nor its interaction with volume, had significant indirect effects on instrumental support through evaluations of the actor's benevolence-based trustworthiness (Hypothesis 9a-b). Also contrary to expectations, evaluations of benevolence-based trustworthiness did not mediate an association between dyad-based selectivity and psychosocial supports (Hypothesis 10a-b; OCB-Is, ostracism, and relationship conflict). All in all, very little support was found for the full moderated mediation model originally proposed, and some results directly contradicted it (e.g., Hypothesis 8a).

DISCUSSION

Overview of Findings

The purpose of this field study was to investigate the interpersonal consequences of personal sharing at work, by empirically testing the theoretical model that emerged from the qualitative analyses presented in Chapter 3. In that initial study, interview respondents discussed the need for a tailored approach to personal sharing with colleagues, rather than

a one-size-fits-all tactic. Overall, the results of this field study supported the core proposition that *selectivity* in personal sharing, rather than overall volume or the global avoidance of taboo topics, was associated with targets' interpersonal evaluations of the actor. Specifically, I found that an actor's tendency to share personal information with task-based selectivity was linked to greater respect from targets, and the tendency to share with dyad-based selectivity was associated with greater liking. In addition, I found that those who shared with dyad-based selectivity were significantly less likely to be ostracized and experience task conflict (at a later point in time), and hence, less likely to be cut off from receiving valuable psychosocial resources from their colleagues.

Results supporting the importance of selectivity, rather than volume of personal sharing, contradicts extant theory predicting a positive and reciprocal association between self-disclosure relationship quality (Altman & Taylor, 1973; Collins & Miller, 1994; Laurenceau et al., 1998). In the context of organizations, where relationships develop under a complex set of goals and motivations that can be incongruent with relational intimacy (Pillemer & Rothbard, 2018), greater care must be taken when opening up about one's personal life. Specifically, sharing personal information when it is directly relevant to the pursuit of work-related goals (task-based selectivity), and sharing based on the nature of the existing actor-target relationship (dyad-based selectivity) are both viewed more positively by colleagues than sharing without regard for tasks or relationships. Moreover, (dyad-based) selectivity, but not volume, predicted lower levels of social exclusion and conflict at work.

Aside from these findings, the extended model, based on both the qualitative interview data and social exchange theory, was largely unsupported. First, my analysis of the interview data seemed to suggest that although volume would not have a direct effect

on interpersonal outcomes, it would qualify the effects of selectivity. Task-based selectivity was discussed as being less efficacious for garnering competence evaluations when an actor's overall volume of personal sharing was already high. In addition, target- and dyad-based selectivity were thought to be associated with greater competence and warmth evaluations, respectively, to the extent that actors shared at higher volumes. No empirical support was found for these contingencies on interpersonal evaluations, nor for the proposed moderated mediation of selectivity on support outcomes through perceptions of trustworthiness.

Second, a main outflow of my theorizing based on social exchange theory was that selectivity in personal sharing would impact subsequent resource flows to the actor. Dyad-based selectivity was the only dimension that positively impacted target outcomes. Specifically, dyad-based selectivity was associated with lower levels of task conflict and ostracism from targets. Thus, dyad-based selectivity acted as a protection factor against being cut-off from coworker supports, rather than a tool for garnering greater support. This is important because negative relationships have been theorized to be more powerful than positive relationships for important workplace outcomes (Labianca & Brass, 2006). Ostracism in particular has been linked to employees' lower well-being and high probability of turnover, to a greater extent than active harassment from colleagues (O'Reilly, Robinson, Berdahl, & Banki, 2014). Despite its relevance to task resource exchange in particular, task-based selectivity had no impact on instrumental support provided to actors.

Finally, a number of results for target-based selectivity in particular directly contradicted my theorizing about its positive impacts on interpersonal evaluations and behavioral support. My qualitative analyses in Study 1 suggested that target-based

selectivity would be linked primarily to competence evaluations from targets (e.g., "knowing your audience"). In light of social exchange theory, I developed hypotheses linking target-based selectivity to instrumental support through perceptions of the actor's ability-based trustworthiness. However, results from the field study indicated that target-based selectivity was significantly and *negatively* related to warmth evaluations and indicators of instrumental and psychosocial support.

Specifically, actors who reported greater target-based selectivity were less liked by targets and more likely to experience both task and relationship conflict with targets. In addition, mediation analyses revealed that target-based selectivity had negative indirect relationships to targets' information sharing with and deference toward actors. This effect was explained by lower ability-based trust in the actor. Initially, I interpreted this unexpected finding as a referendum on the actor's perceived authenticity. Perhaps actors who try to cater their personal sharing to targets' preferred topics are liked less because they seem too instrumental in their personal interactions with others. Anticipating the possibility that perceived authenticity could play a role in my theoretical model, I did collect a measure of targets' perceptions of the actor's authenticity at Wave 1 (along with the warmth and competence measures). However, substituting perceived authenticity as the dependent variable in Model 3 (with all controls and other two bases of selectivity in the model) yielded a nonsignificant effect of target-based selectivity (b = .03, p = .75). Thus, lower perceived authenticity does not appear to explain the negative impact of target-based selectivity on warmth evaluations.

It is perhaps the case that sharing with a high degree of target-based selectivity is evaluated as less warm because the actor appears to be manipulating or controlling the flow of personal information. For example, one actor might limit personal sharing with a

particular target to the topic of their children's extracurricular activities, perhaps because of a commonality or because the target seemed to respond positively to this topic in the past. After this same interaction is initiated by the actor multiple times, the target might start to suspect the actor of using that personal information to elicit positive responses by artificially restricting the content of what is shared. Even if targets feel that the *intimacy* of the information should be modulated based on the depth of the relationship between actor and target (as in dyad-based personal sharing), they might also feel that the *breadth* of topics at those intimacy levels should be explored organically and without an obvious agenda.

Limitations

This field study had both strengths and weaknesses that should be considered when interpreting its results. On one hand, a number of factors might have contributed to low statistical power for detecting the hypothesized relationships. The relatively low sample size would have made it difficult to find effects I already anticipated to be small – an actor's self-reported behavior at one point in time affecting targets' self-reported behaviors toward those actors two months later. A post-hoc power analysis, given my sample size, p-value, and small effect sizes, revealed that even the simplest models I tested (i.e., Models 2 and 5) had about 60% power. Thus, more complex models testing for mediation and moderation had even lower power to detect effects that might be present. On the other hand, collecting the data with a separation in source and time should bolster confidence in the hypotheses that were supported, as false positives due to common method variance are not likely.

Another factor that likely contributed to low statistical power was the low variance in a number of criterion variables. For example, ability-based trust, as rated on a scale of 1

to 7 had a mean of 6.23 and standard deviation of .76; relationship conflict, measured on a 1-5 scale, had a mean of 1.12 and standard deviation of only .34. In addition, many of these variables were restricted in their ranges; respect and liking had minimum average values of 3.75 and 4.00, respectively; the minimum average for actor-directed OCB-Is was 4.61; and task and relationship conflict had maximums averages of 3.00 and 2.50 (on scales of 1-5), respectively. Overall, this appeared to be a workplace with consistently high rates of positive interpersonal behaviors and low rates of conflict and negative workplace behaviors. Future research could address this limitation by repeating a similar method of data collection in an organization where positive relationships are not as strongly emphasized by top management, or where managers feel that conflict and/or counterproductive work behavior is relatively more common among employees.

Chapter 6: General Discussion

With increasing calls to be vulnerable with colleagues and to bring your "whole self" to work, a focused investigation into personal sharing with colleagues and its consequences is both timely and necessary. Researchers have long studied personal sharing between friends, partners, and family members (e.g., Altman & Taylor, 1973). However, I have argued that, because these theories do not consider the complex features of organizational relationships (Pillemer & Rothbard, 2018), their conclusions about the largely positive impacts of personal sharing on relationship quality are not likely to hold in this context. Organizational theories of work/non-work boundary management (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000) and stigma disclosures (Clair et al., 2005) offer some insights into the potential risks of sharing personal information with colleagues. But, their perspectives on personal sharing as a construct have been limited to specific motivations (i.e., integrating boundaries) and content (i.e., stigmatizing information). Consequently, this dissertation aimed to answer three key questions about the nature of personal sharing and its consequences through three main studies with five independent samples of participants.

Defining the Construct Space of Personal Sharing

The first question I addressed was about the nature of personal sharing as a construct. After reviewing the organizational literature, I concluded that existing treatments and definitions of "self-disclosure" often involve one-time revelations of personal information that are inherently risky or vulnerability-inducing (Gibson et al., 2018; Pennebaker, 1997). With the personal sharing construct, I aimed to capture the wider range of personal information that might be exchanged in organizations on a day-to-day basis, including both the pivotal and the trivial. In addition, personal sharing is sometimes treated as one means of integrating work and non-work spheres (Dumas et al., 2013; Trefalt, 2013).

Although these few investigations of personal sharing as boundary work are valuable, there are many other motivations for, and functions of, sharing personal information with colleagues that must be considered. For example, personal sharing can be used as a means of impression management, relationship building, or simply expressive behavior.

As a first step into gaining a fuller and deeper understanding of this construct space, I conducted a qualitative investigation (Study 1) using semi-structured interviews. Respondents discussed sharing personal information on a wide range of topics and functions, from simply expressing frustrations about something their children did that morning, to confiding in trusted colleagues about a major life transition. Moreover, a set of implicit theories of personal sharing with colleagues emerged, with an abstracted theme of *selectivity* in personal sharing.

IMPLICIT THEORIES FOR SELECTIVITY

Three key findings emerged from Study 1 regarding implicit theories about such selectivity. First, based on my analysis of the qualitative data, it was not possible to articulate an ideal level of overall personal sharing volume. Respondents spoke both positively and negatively, about both low and high levels of sharing. Second, respondents were not firm in a list of topics that should be avoided absolutely when interacting with colleagues. They cited subjects such as politics, religion, sexuality, and money as especially risky, but admitted to broaching these topics themselves with certain coworkers (and deemed it appropriate under the circumstances). Thus, based on the interview data, I did not expect main effects of either personal sharing volume or avoidance of taboo topics on targets' evaluations of actors who share.

The third and perhaps most key finding of Study 1 was the importance of three *bases* of selectivity in personal sharing. Respondents' implicit theories linked task-based and target-based selectivity to an actor's competence. That is, they expressed that sharing related to one's work efforts, and sharing catered to the needs and preferences of specific targets, were ways to appear more competent in one's work role. In addition, respondents talked about sharing tailored to particular relationships (dyad-based selectivity) as directly related to a person's warmth.

Employing a series of construct development studies (Study 2a-c), I explored the discriminant and convergent validity of a measure of selectivity for use in this and subsequent empirical investigations. This study also served, in part, to more fully address my initial research question about the nature of the personal sharing construct space. None of the selectivity dimensions were associated with an individual's extraversion, but there was some (although not high) overlap with both self-monitoring and political skill, as expected. In addition, selectivity was differentiated from measures of the similar concepts of both personal sharing volume and taboo-topic avoidance. Finally, these studies determined the structure of selectivity, in that task-based, target-based, and dyad-based selectivity emerged and could be confirmed as three separate dimensions; they fit the data better than a unidimensional selectivity construct. With this psychometrically sound measure, I proceeded to address my third and final research question.

INTERPERSONAL RISKS AND REWARDS

Most importantly, I sought to clarify the potential risks and benefits of personal sharing with colleagues. I allowed the implicit theories from Study 1, along with tenets of social exchange theory, to guide me in developing a complex model of moderated

mediation. Specifically, the dimensions of selectivity were hypothesized to influence targets' social exchange with actors (in the form of providing both instrumental and psychosocial support) through assessments of their trustworthiness. The links between selectivity and trustworthiness evaluations were expected to depend on overall personal sharing volume (see Figure 1).

Testing this model in Study 3, I found support for some of the core propositions that emerged from Study 1's qualitative findings, but less support for the extended social exchange model. As expected, selectivity in personal sharing impacted evaluations from targets, even after accounting for volume, taboo topic avoidance, and a number of control variables. Specifically, task-based personal sharing was rewarded with more respect, and sharing that was mindful of relationship quality was rewarded with greater liking from colleagues. Volume had no significant direct effects on respect or liking from targets. Although taboo topic avoidance was related to greater respect, this effect disappeared when selectivity was entered into the model. Thus, selectivity in personal sharing emerged as more important than overall volume or avoiding taboo topics for reaping the benefits (and avoiding the risks) of sharing personal information with colleagues, at least in terms of garnering more positive evaluations from them.

There is one important caveat to this conclusion: target-based selectivity unexpectedly *backfired* in the form of less liking from targets. Despite Study 2 interviewees discussing this form of selectivity as a tool for demonstrating social competence in one's work role with others, peers in Study 3 evaluated actors' increasing target-based selectivity with lower levels of warmth. As I discussed following Study 3's findings, it is possible that actors who try to select topics for personal sharing based on the target seem less friendly and more manipulative or opportunistic in how they relate to others. Rather than engaging

in an open back-and-forth of personal conversation and listening reflexively to targets, they enter personal conversations with a predetermined set of topics for each person. Thus, despite the name "target-based" selectivity, their sharing might come off as controlling and, paradoxically, self-focused rather than other-focused.

Turing to the remainder of the theorized model, Study 3 offered little support. There was no moderation of selectivity by volume, despite themes that seemed to emerge in my qualitative analyses. It was perhaps the case that these interactive effects were too small to detect, given one possibility that only extreme levels of volume mattered for selectivity. For example, my interviewees often discussed one outlier person in their organization on either the high or low end of volume, for whom their implicit theories about selectivity could be modified. As I could not ask Study 3 respondents to rate everyone in their organization, it is possible that I did not capture the tails of the personal sharing volume distribution that would matter most for evaluations of selectivity.

Selectivity had significant impacts on one indicator of instrumental support and two indices of psychosocial support. Actors who shared with increasing dyad-based selectivity were less likely to be involved in task conflict with, and less likely to be ostracized by, their coworkers. However, these effects were not explained by evaluations of the actor's benevolence-based trustworthiness, as theorized through a social exchange lens. It is perhaps the case that dyad-based selectivity operates through more automatic associations of warmth and competence, rather than more holistic evaluations of whether the actor has benevolent intentions or sufficient abilities.

The other connections between selectivity and target support was between target-based selectivity and targets' reported task and relationship conflict with the actor. Consistent with the negative impact of target-based selectivity on liking, this form of

selectivity lead to *more* task and relationship conflict, not less. In addition, mediation analyses suggested an indirect effect of target-based selectivity on *lower* levels of deference and information sharing from targets, through lowered perceptions of the actor's ability-based trustworthiness. Extending the discussion on target-based selectivity above, it is possible that targets develop increasing irritation toward these actors, which in turn leads to tension or animosity that feels personal in nature. Thus, it might be best to avoid tailoring information to particular targets, instead letting the nature and strength of the unique relationship guide personal sharing.

Returning to my question about interpersonal risks and rewards, Study 3 results suggests that the rewards of selectivity in personal sharing largely reside in the dyad-based dimension. Those who shared with high dyad-based selectivity were particularly sensitive to maintaining balance in reciprocity and restricting intimate information to the boundaries of close work relationships. This basis of selectivity emerged as a protective factor against the experience of negative interpersonal behaviors that have proven particularly detrimental to actors' performance and well-being (O'Reilly et al., 2014; Ozcelik & Barsade, 2018). Specifically, targets were less likely to cut off support to actors who shared with dyad-based selectivity, in the form of lower levels of both task conflict and ostracism behavior. Thus, sharing with dyad-based selectivity is a promising avenue for avoiding negative relationships with colleagues. However, there were unexpected risks associated with *target*-based selectivity, whereby actors were more likely to be involved in both task and relationship conflict with targets.

THEORETICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

This dissertation makes a number of contributions to management theory. First, it adds to the emerging body of literature on positive workplace relationships (Dutton & Heaphy, 2003; Ferris et al., 2009). High quality connections at work are important not only for well-being, but also for enhancing individual and collective effectiveness (Carmeli, Dutton, & Hardin, 2015; Chiaburu & Harrison, 2008; Ozcelik & Barsade, 2018). With this dissertation, I focused on personal information as the primary way all relationships strengthen and grow (Altman & Taylor, 1973), but that has yet received little attention in investigations of work relationships. As one exception, findings from a recent study suggested that setting aside dedicated time to discussing personal information can be a transformative practice for fostering positive relational dynamics in teams (Lee, Mazmanian, & Perlow, 2019).

However, my findings uncover some important nuances of sharing personal information unique to the context of organizations. Specifically, they reveal that employees do attempt to be selective when sharing personal information, and this selectivity impacts colleagues' responses beyond both the volume of information shared and the tendency to avoid risky topics. Sharing with task- and dyad-based selectivity can foster perceptions of respect and liking, and ultimately help to guard against harmful social exclusion at work. However, sharing personal information with target-based selectivity is likely to lead to annoyances or frustrations with the focal employee, ultimately driving a wedge of conflict between that person and his or her colleagues. Thus, I uncover one way in which sharing personal information, the primary building block of relationships, can backfire in the form of greater relational discord with colleagues.

Second, this work answers calls to add relational context to theories of work/non-work boundary management (Trefalt, 2013). Investigations in this area have focused largely on the positive *individual* consequences of integrating those domains. However, integration activities do not take place in an individual vacuum. Rather, the consequences of integration through personal sharing extend beyond the individual to targets and relationships. Moreover, they might be positive or negative depending on various aspects of relational and organizational context. For example, an individual might experience increased well-being as a result of integrating a personal identity into the workplace. At the same time, targets could react negatively and relationships could suffer when actors make known personal identities that are, say, offensive to others.

Taking relational context into consideration emerged as an important criterion for (dyad-based) selectivity when using personal sharing as a tool for such integration. In addition, task-based selectivity had an element of relational context. Specifically, interviewees in Study 1 discussed the relevance of the personal information to the actor's *interdependent* work efforts with colleagues as an important consideration of personal sharing. This dimension of selectivity was empirically linked to competence evaluations from targets. Finally, integration through personal sharing had negative interpersonal consequences when sharing with target-based selectivity. Thus, when examining personal sharing as a means of integration, boundary management theory should take these aspects of relational context into consideration, as positive individual consequences could either be reinforced by positive social impacts, or overshadowed by negative ones.

Finally, this work contributes to research on the management of concealable stigmas (e.g., sexual orientation, mental illness, certain religious beliefs) at work. Much of the empirical work in this area has focused on the psychological consequences of revealing

concealable stigmas, reaching a consensus that disclosure results in better outcomes than passing (Jones & King, 2014). Until recently, the interpersonal consequences of revealing stigmatizing information were largely overlooked. However, the type of strategy employed in the ongoing management of this kind of personal information with colleagues can have important impacts on whether the employee is ultimately ostracized or included and supported (Lynch & Rodell, 2019).

My findings complement this work by highlighting two such strategies that might be helpful, and one that might backfire, when managing concealable stigmas at work. For example, sharing about a concealable stigma when it directly impacts one's work efforts is likely to lead to greater respect from colleagues. In addition, sharing more sensitive information surrounding a stigma in close relationships, while limiting such sharing in conversations with acquaintances, is likely to lead to greater liking and acceptance from colleagues. Finally, my findings suggest that trying to judge which particular targets might be more or less open to discussing the stigma is a strategy that should be avoided.

LIMITATIONS, BOUNDARY CONDITIONS, AND FUTURE RESEARCH

This dissertation has a few limitations that warrant further discussion. First, the findings from Study 3 (field study) should be interpreted in light of some key characteristics of its sample. First, the study was conducted in a formal, professional setting, where employees might be more sensitive to social norms of communication and interaction. In these types of jobs, performance evaluations and career outcomes are often dependent on adhering to an "ideal worker" image (Reid, 2015). In my qualitative interviews, which sampled from a wide variety of professions, respondents in trade occupations often reported more frequent and extreme cases of "oversharing" than

respondents who worked in formal office settings. Thus, it could be the case that more variance in selectivity would be observed in non-professional settings. In addition, selectivity might or might not have the same magnitude of impact on how coworkers react to personal sharing, depending on the formality of the work environment.

In this vein, future research could focus on specific aspects of the organizational or team context that might impact selectivity and its impact on relational outcomes. To motivate the study of personal sharing in work relationships, I noted some key distinctions from non-work relationships that are likely to complicate associations between personal sharing and positive relational outcomes. For example, work relationships are instrumentally oriented, involuntarily selected, and governed by more formal role requirements than non-work relationships (Pillemer & Rothbard, 2018). Might features of the context, such as the extent to which tasks and outcomes are interdependent (an aspect of the instrumentality of work relationships) make selectivity in personal sharing more consequential for both relational and performance outcomes at work? Similarly, some aspects of the relational climate of the organization might create conditions that align more or less closely with the effects of personal sharing in non-work relationships. In organizations with strong cultures of companionate love (Barsade & O'Neill, 2014), for example, personal sharing volume might emerge as a stronger predictor of relationship quality than selectivity.

In addition, this research and theorizing might not generalize to non-U.S. or non-Western populations. The Protestant Relational Ideology, which developed in the U.S. in the early twentieth century, dictated strict limits on emotional and relational expressions in the American workplace (Sanchez-Burks, 2002). Prior work has demonstrated, for example, that U.S. study participants evaluated job candidates who discussed personal

information in a job interview more harshly, whereas Indian participants did not (Uhlmann et al., 2013). It is possible that outside the U.S. and other Anglo-Saxon countries, personal sharing volume might have more of a positive impact than selectivity on reactions from colleagues. Further, selectivity might have a more negative impact on interpersonal evaluations and behavior, to the extent that strategically modulating personal sharing is viewed as unnecessary and suspicious.

Finally, a boundary condition noted from the beginning of this dissertation is its focus on lateral work relationships. Relationships with a clear hierarchical component can be classified as having a separate relational schema (Baldwin & Dandeneau, 2006), and thus, are likely to operate under a unique set of implicit theories for personal sharing. Along with the contextual features unique to organizations that might impact the consequences of personal sharing (which in large part motivated this study), hierarchy adds an additional layer of context that employees likely consider when forming implicit theories about sharing with a supervisor or subordinate. I would expect that task-, target-, and dyad-based selectivity would still be important in these relationships, but perhaps to varying extents based on relative status and hierarchical distance between employees. In addition, there could be added implicit theories to account for the additional layer of context in hierarchical interactions.

Following from the above, and despite the need to limit the scope of this dissertation to colleague relationships, future research would benefit from focusing on the manager-employee relationship. Although this topic is often discussed and debated in the popular press, only one study to date has empirically examined personal sharing across a hierarchical work relationship (Gibson et al., 2018). Researchers found that high-status actors who disclosed a weakness experienced a status penalty, along with lower

relationship quality and increased conflict with the relatively low-status targets. Building on this work and this dissertation, future research should examine the full construct space of personal sharing (i.e., not just revealing weaknesses) in the context of the manager-employee relationship. It is possible that certain kinds of personal information shared down the hierarchy does strengthen relationships with employees and potentially enhance impressions of leadership. Indeed, this is a foundational proposition of theories of authentic leadership (Avolio & Gardner, 2005).

Personal sharing up the hierarchy is also likely important for shaping the manager-employee or leader-follower relationship. One potentially promising avenue is exploring the dynamic of high-status employees directly soliciting personal information from lower-status employees. For example, managers might ask for an explanation for certain work behaviors, such as absences or repeated counterproductive work behaviors, and the reason might often involve personal information. In addition, managers might try to create a culture of compassion and openness by "checking in" in with employees about how things are going in their personal lives, or encourage them to share with others in a group setting. Given the findings in this dissertation strongly contradict a one-size-fits-all approach to personal sharing, future research might focus on how to best tailor personal inquiries across specific employees. As another consideration, this dynamic could easily enhance the asymmetry in informational power that often characterizes hierarchical relationships. To the extent that managers elicit greater personal information about their employees, but share nothing in return, employees are likely to find themselves in position of relative vulnerability.

Future investigations could also focus on the effects of personal sharing selectivity on other important work outcomes. For example, taking a social network perspective might

reveal that actors who share personal information with high selectivity are more likely to gain advantageous positions in the informal networks of the organization (e.g., Kleinbaum, Jordan, & Audia, 2015; Sasovova, Mehra, Borgatti, & Schippers, 2010). In addition, downstream effects on individual performance are worth considering. One study found that employees who experienced loneliness at work were less effective in their roles, due to decreased commitment to the organization and coworkers seeing them as less approachable (Ozcelik & Barsade, 2018). This is particularly important in light of my finding linking dyad-based selectivity to lower levels of ostracism from coworkers.

Finally, an interesting question for future research might center on the origin of implicit theories for personal sharing and relating to coworkers more generally. How do employees develop various modes of relating to others at work? The literature on work relationships has generally found that employees with positive work relationships are more committed to their organizations. However, a recent investigation highlighted the importance of a fit between employees' relational needs and the level of support they receive from coworkers (Ehrhardt & Ragins, 2018). The same amount of colleague support might work for one employee, but create a "too close for comfort" reaction in another. This begs the question of why employees might have differing relational needs and expectations at work, along what implications those differences might have. It is perhaps the case that early experiences in one's career, such as a first manager relationship or the culture of a first organization, color all subsequent work relationships in some way. It might also be possible that negative experiences with work relationships are stronger forces than positive ones (Labianca & Brass, 2006) for driving an employee's level of openness with or friendliness toward coworkers. With increasing recognition of the important role

workplace relationships play in organizations, there are many fruitful avenues for future research on both personal sharing and relationship development more generally.

CONCLUSION

With this dissertation, I posed questions about the nature and consequences of sharing personal information with colleagues, which have yet gone unaddressed in the extant organizational literature. In particular, it was unclear *when* personal sharing with colleagues – beyond one-time disclosures of potentially stigmatizing or vulnerability-inducing information – would be risky or rewarding, in terms of targets' perceptions and behavior toward actors. In an initial qualitative study, I found that *how much* one shares is less consequential for these outcomes than how one *varies* their personal sharing across content and targets (i.e., selectivity). Following a series of investigations developing a measure for selectivity in personal sharing, this basic proposition was confirmed in a field study of marketing and communications employees. Specifically, actors who shared with task-based selectivity were more likely to be evaluated as competent, whereas those who shared with dyad-based selectivity were more likely to be seen as warm, and less likely to experience markers of negative work relationships (task conflict and ostracism) with colleagues. However, target-based selectivity emerged unexpectedly as a risk factor, damaging targets' perceptions of the actor's warmth and exacerbating both task and relationship conflict. In an age of increasing personal connectedness and openness at work, this study provides both valuable and timely contributions to organizational theory and practice.

Tables and Figures

Table 1: Overview of the Personal Sharing Literature

	Content Shared	Actor Outcomes	Interpersonal (Target) Outcomes	Relational Outcomes
Stigma disclosure (recent reviews)				
Clair, Beatty, Maclean (2005)	Invisible stigmas	Cognitive dissonance (+)	Stigmatization (+)	Relationship closeness (+) Social change (acceptance of stigma; +)
Ragins (2008)	Invisible stigmas	Identity integration (+)		
Jones & King (2014)	Concealable stigmas	Task performance (+) Job attitudes (+) Perceived discrimination (+) Psychological well-being (+) Physical well-being (+)	Help/support (+)	
Lyons, Pek, & Wessel (2017)	Stigmatized identities			Social change (+/-)

Table 1 continued

Personal sharing (reviews)				
Dumas, Rothbard, & Phillips (2008)	Personal information			Work group cohesion (+/-)
Phillips, Rothbard, & Dumas (2009)	Status-confirming personal information Status-disconfirming personal information			Relationship quality (+for status-disconfirming; - for status-confirming)
Ollier-Malaterre, Rothbard, & Berg (2013)	Self-enhancing personal information Nontailored (i.e., potentially unflattering) personal information *(via social media)*		Respect (+ for self-enhancing; - for nontailored) Liking (+ for self-enhancing; - for nontailored)	
Gibson (2018)	"Disruptive" personal information		Enthusiasm (+ if assessed as goal congruent) Eschewal (+ if assessed as goal incongruent)	Positive (if assessed as goal congruent) or negative (if assessed as goal incongruent) shift in relational trajectory

Table 1 continued

Personal sharing (empirical)				
Clark (2002)	Communication about family	Work satisfaction (+) Employee citizenship behavior (+) Role conflict (-)		
Bohnert & Ross (2010)	Unprofessional personal information (re: alcohol consumption) Family information *(via social media)*		Job candidate evaluations (- for unprofessional personal)	
Chiu & Staples (2010)	Personal information *(via public weblog)*	Perceived faultlines (+)	Team task elaboration (+)	
Uhlmann, Heaphy, Ashford, Zhu, & Sanchez-Burks (2013)	Personal information		(hypothetical) Job candidate evaluations (+/-)	
Little, Hinojosa, & Lynch (2017)	Pregnancy disclosure to manager	Short-term change in supervisor support (+/-) Enduring change in perceived supervisor support (+)		
Gibson, Harai, & Marr (2018)	Personal weakness disclosure		Perceptions of influence, task conflict, & relationship quality (-)	

Table 2: Implicit Theories of Personal Sharing Identified in Study 1

Implicit theories of personal sharing	**Exemplary Quotes**	**Frequency**
To avoid the risks of personal sharing with colleagues:		
Task-based Selectivity		
Justify deviations from work responsibilities	"I wouldn't say I'd tell any deep information to all of my coworkers unless it's pertinent, like, 'Hey, can you pick up my shift? I need to go take my foster daughter to an appointment.'" "It's a small group of people - a couple of them are my most senior direct-reports and a couple of them are more of my peer group … I shared with this group of people what I was going through so they could they could sort of quietly help pick up the slack for me while I had to be out."	23
Target-based Selectivity		
Assess target's episodic receptivity	"I think sometimes knowing the person, knowing their personality, knowing what they're interested and not interested in, you know there are some people that welcome [personal sharing]. There are others that, 'Give me the facts,' very much get the job done and very to the point, less social. So I think being respectful not of your needs, but of the other person's needs, communications, personality, is what also helps in maintaining good relationships anywhere, but definitely in the workplace."	15
Assess target's topic receptivity	"You gotta know your audience. You know if you're going to share views that are polarizing, you probably want to be careful with whom you're sharing."	31

Table 2 continued

Dyad-based Selectivity		
Match sharing levels within particular dyads	"We sit in our office together... and all day, every day, she's telling me about every family drama she's ever had, and her parents' health issues, and her own health issues, and her daughter's dating issues. I don't ask her any of that. She just tells me. I don't share anything with her, really. I like her, so I'll tell her stuff about the baby, and when she asks me things, I'll answer, but she is a big oversharer... So it feels like it's not really appropriate, because I'm not really reciprocating the sharing."	18
Match depth to relationship closeness	"I have a couple of closer friends at work, and I'll tell them more detailed stuff. But I didn't tell anyone that we working on becoming foster parents before we did, other than my one close friend… But there are certain people that I'm close with that I would share that information with, but overall I don't go to every coworker I see and share." "He had knocked on my door, came in my office and was like, "Hey can I just talk to you for a minute?" - I don't know him well. I know him in the sense of saying hi to him. - and just shared a ton about he and his wife who just got divorced and his wife works [in the same department]... It was very weird and kind of uncomfortable because it felt like jumping 12 levels of friendship."	27

Table 3: List of Initial 20 Selectivity Items and Factor Loadings from Study 2a

Items	Factor Loadings		
I think about whether this person and I have a "give-and-take" (go back and forth) when it comes to discussing personal issues (Dyad) *	0.88	-0.23	0.05
I keep in mind how well she or he and I have been getting along with each other on a personal level (Dyad) *	0.81	-0.15	-0.06
I take into account whether she/he has shared something personal with me lately (Dyad)*	0.76	-0.16	0.16
I consider how much trust has been built between this person and me (Dyad)	0.70	-0.02	-0.03
I consider whether she/he seems interested in my personal life (Dyad)	0.63	0.28	-0.26
I make sure I go to someone with whom I have a close relationship (Dyad)	0.54	0.03	0.04
I think about how open or closed off this person has been with me in the past (Dyad)	0.54	0.16	-0.06
I consider the strength of the bond between this person and me (Dyad)	0.42	0.37	-0.11
I consider how open this person typically tends to be about his/her personal life (Target)	0.41	0.32	0.06
I consider the person's overall preferences for discussing personal information at work (Target)	0.36	0.32	0.08
I consider how much I really know about the person's position on particular issues (Target) *	-0.09	0.93	-0.04
I think about how often this person has said things about that same topic I might bring up (Target) *	-0.24	0.83	0.09
I wait for a signal that he/she is open to hearing about others' personal beliefs (Target) *	0.04	0.67	0.01
I take account of how private this person is, generally (Target) *	0.14	0.59	-0.01
I keep in mind how well she or he and I have been getting along with each other on a personal level (Target)	0.09	0.49	0.07
I think about how much personal information everybody knows that this person shares altogether (Target)	0.28	0.32	0.28
I consider whether the information I'm sharing has an effect on my performance (Task) *	-0.11	0.06	0.85
I think about whether it justifies my request for extra help on the job (Task) *	-0.05	0.04	0.82
I think about whether it would be helpful to explain problems getting my work done (Task) *	-0.04	0.09	0.79
I consider whether the person needs to know because it impacts how I accomplish tasks (Task) *	0.22	-0.18	0.77

*Note: * indicates item was retained after a series of Exploratory Factor Analyses*

Table 4: Correlations Among Three Key Dimensions of Selectivity and Nearby Constructs from Study 2a

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Self-Monitoring											
2. Networking Ability	0.43										
3. Interpersonal Influence	0.41	0.81									
4. Social Astuteness	0.32	0.67	0.76								
5. Apparent Sincerity	-0.05	0.43	0.59	0.53							
6. Political Skill Total	0.38	NA	NA	NA	NA						
7. Extraversion	0.62	0.52	0.45	0.34	0.10	0.46					
8. Task-based Selectivity	0.12	0.47	0.37	0.36	0.21	0.44	0.12				
9. Target-based Selectivity	0.04	0.29	0.28	0.37	0.26	0.34	0.01	0.43			
10. Dyad-based Selectivity	-0.03	0.28	0.38	0.41	0.39	0.40	-0.01	0.38	0.48		
11. Selectivity Total	0.07	0.46	0.43	0.47	0.34	0.50	0.07	NA	NA	NA	

Note: N=152; Correlations of .16 and higher are significant at $p < .05$

Table 5: Observed Factor Structures for Study 2b

Items	Factor Loadings				
Self-monitoring 7	0.96	-0.14	-0.02	0.03	0.01
Self-monitoring 13	0.95	-0.09	0.01	0.03	0.00
Self-monitoring 16	0.93	-0.04	-0.01	0.00	0.03
Self-monitoring 12	0.91	-0.08	-0.01	0.06	0.04
Self-monitoring 3	0.88	-0.13	0.00	0.15	-0.10
Self-monitoring 6	0.88	-0.10	0.03	0.06	0.03
Self-monitoring 1	0.87	-0.15	0.05	0.10	0.02
Self-monitoring 15	0.87	-0.05	0.04	0.05	0.08
Self-monitoring 10	0.86	0.04	0.04	0.08	0.04
Self-monitoring 9	0.84	0.13	-0.02	-0.13	0.04
Self-monitoring 14	0.84	0.02	-0.01	-0.15	-0.04
Self-monitoring 5	0.81	-0.04	0.03	-0.06	0.02
Self-monitoring 11	0.80	-0.01	-0.11	-0.05	-0.13
Self-monitoring 4	0.79	0.06	-0.02	0.10	0.06
Self-monitoring 8	0.78	0.02	0.02	-0.16	0.16
Self-monitoring 2	0.76	-0.16	0.07	0.03	-0.16
Self-monitoring 18	0.76	0.16	-0.06	-0.08	0.02
Self-monitoring 17	0.72	0.23	-0.06	0.01	-0.03
Political Skill 6	-0.11	0.99	-0.08	0.00	0.01
Political Skill 9	-0.15	0.99	-0.03	-0.01	-0.01
Political Skill 10	-0.18	0.97	-0.04	0.05	0.07
Political Skill 14	-0.15	0.97	-0.06	0.06	-0.01
Political Skill 18	-0.17	0.96	-0.02	0.07	0.02
Political Skill 1	-0.11	0.93	0.07	0.08	-0.01
Political Skill 7	-0.05	0.93	0.06	-0.05	-0.03
Political Skill 11	0.06	0.89	-0.02	0.00	0.08
Political Skill 4	0.00	0.88	0.07	0.03	0.06
Political Skill 5	0.06	0.88	-0.04	-0.05	-0.07
Political Skill 16	0.11	0.84	-0.05	-0.01	0.00
Political Skill 3	0.01	0.84	0.06	0.04	0.02
Political Skill 2	0.06	0.80	0.11	-0.02	0.10
Political Skill 13	0.09	0.76	0.05	-0.04	0.00
Political Skill 15	0.34	0.70	-0.06	-0.08	-0.05
Political Skill 17	0.25	0.67	0.17	-0.05	0.02
Political Skill 12	0.18	0.62	-0.04	0.03	-0.16
Political Skill 8	0.22	0.44	-0.04	0.12	-0.14
Target-based Selectivity 2	0.01	-0.02	0.97	0.00	-0.07
Target-based Selectivity 3	-0.03	0.00	0.96	-0.04	-0.08
Target-based Selectivity 1	-0.02	0.04	0.92	0.01	-0.05
Target-based Selectivity 4	0.02	-0.02	0.80	-0.03	0.14
Task-based Selectivity 4	0.05	0.06	-0.03	0.90	-0.03
Task-based Selectivity 3	0.05	0.10	-0.03	0.90	-0.05
Task-based Selectivity 1	0.11	-0.01	-0.02	0.89	-0.01
Task-based Selectivity 2	-0.06	-0.05	0.08	0.80	0.14
Dyad-based Selectivity 4	0.06	0.09	-0.07	0.02	0.97
Dyad-based Selectivity 2	0.03	0.04	-0.08	-0.04	0.94
Dyad-based Selectivity 1	0.01	-0.03	0.05	0.00	0.88

Table 6: Model Fit Indices for Confirmatory Factor Analysis from Study 2c

Model	RMSEA	NNFI	CFI	SRMR	χ^2 (df)	$\Delta\chi^2$†	Δ df†
5-Factor (Selectivity as 1 factor)	.09	.82	.84	.08	641.90 (242)	--	--
6-Factor A (Task- and Target-based Selectivity combined)	.08	.85	.87	.08	548.82 (237)	93.08*	5
6-Factor B (Task- and Dyad-based selectivity combined)	.08	.84	.86	.08	574.09 (237)	67.82*	5
6-Factor C (Target- and Dyad-based selectivity combined)	.07	.89	.90	.07	475.60 (237)	167.58*	5
7-Factor	.06	.91	.92	.07	420.33 (231)	53.99*	6

*Note: † All 6-factor solutions compared to the 5-factor solution; 7-factor solution compared to the best-fitting 6-factor solution (6-Factor C); * significant at $p < .05$*

Table 7: Correlations Among Three Dimensions of Selectivity and Nearby Constructs from Study 2c

	Task-based Selectivity	Target-based Selectivity	Dyad-based Selectivity	Personal Sharing Volume	Taboo Topic Avoidance	Self-monitoring	Political Skill
Task-based Selectivity	(.87)						
Target-based Selectivity	0.55	(.81)					
Dyad-based Selectivity	0.42	0.59	(.75)				
Personal Sharing Volume	0.01	0.05	0.04	(.91)			
Taboo Topic Avoidance	0.43	0.33	0.31	-0.25	(.75)		
Self-monitoring	0.04	-0.05	-0.06	0.02	-0.02	(.73)	
Political Skill	0.29	0.16	0.21	0.12	0.16	0.35	(.94)

Note: N=200; Chronbach's alphas of scale reliability appear in parentheses along the diagonal. Correlations of .14 and higher are significant at $p < .05$.

Table 8: Descriptive Statistics and Correlations Among Study 3 Variables

	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5
1. Task-based Selectivity	4.72	1.29	**0.87**				
2. Target-based Selectivity	5.79	0.80	0.43*	**0.82**			
3. Dyad-based Selectivity	5.47	0.95	0.25*	0.40*	**0.70**		
4. Taboo Topic Avoidance	5.94	1.08	0.12	0.20*	0.06	**0.83**	
5. Personal Sharing Volume	3.81	1.50	-0.05	-0.24*	0	-0.45	**0.92**
6. Agreeableness	5.81	0.79	0.11	0.18*	0.01	0.14	0.19*
7. Extraversion	4.18	1.16	0.02	0.02	0.27*	-0.07	0.25*
8. Self-Monitoring	1.43	0.18	0.00	-0.18*	0.11	-0.32*	0.20*
9. Job Satisfaction	5.69	0.85	0.06	0.22*	0.21*	0.12	-0.06
10. Self Esteem	5.53	0.95	0.21*	0.31*	0.19*	0.13	-0.07
11. Targets' Relationship Strength with Actor	3.68	0.90	-0.05	-0.23*	-0.08	0.26	0.08
12. Gender (1=Female; 2 = Male)	1.21	0.41	-0.17	-0.24*	-0.08	-0.11	-0.09
13. Age	36.47	8.81	-0.17	0.08	0.10	0.01	-0.13
14. Organizational Tenure	4.49	3.92	-0.26*	-0.15	-0.30*	-0.04	-0.07
15. Targets' Respect for Actor	6.31	0.68	0.25*	-0.10	-0.05	0.21	0.03
16. Targets' Liking for Actor	6.09	0.80	0.12	-0.22*	0.02	0.12	0.18*
17. Targets' Ability-based Trust in Actor	6.23	0.76	0.06	-0.18*	-0.04	0.18	-0.03
18. Targets' Benevolence-based Trust in Actor	5.46	0.97	0.08	-0.11	0.06	0.16	0.15
19. Targets' OCB-Is toward Actor	5.86	0.62	0.15	-0.14	-0.02	0.1	0.16
20. Targets' Ostracism toward Actor	1.51	0.73	-0.07	0.08	-0.17	-0.08	-0.18*
21. Targets' Relationship Conflict with Actor	1.19	0.34	-0.17	0.12	-0.10	-0.04	-0.12
22. Targets' Task Information Sharing with Actor	5.18	1.01	-0.01	-0.13	0.09	0.09	0.23*
23. Targets' Deference toward Actor	4.32	1.41	0.14	0.04	0.02	0.20*	0.01
24. Targets' Task Conflict with Actor	1.30	0.44	-0.19*	0.09	-0.21*	-0.08	-0.13

Table 8 continued

	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
6. Agreeableness	**0.86**								
7. Extraversion	0.36*	**0.93**							
8. Self-Monitoring	-0.08	0.52*	**0.70**						
9. Job Satisfaction	0.26*	0.35*	0.07	**0.78**					
10. Self Esteem	0.29*	0.08	-0.05	0.37	**0.88**				
11. Targets' Relationship Strength with Actor	0.01	0.06	-0.02	-0.03	-0.06	NA			
12. Gender (1=Female; 2 = Male)	-0.50*	-0.24*	0.21	-0.10	-0.06	-0.21*	NA		
13. Age	-0.01	-0.08	-0.17	0.21	0.13	-0.06	-0.10	NA	
14. Organizational Tenure	-0.09	-0.18*	-0.01	-0.11	-0.07	0.06	0.04	0.20*	NA
15. Targets' Respect for Actor	0.09	-0.04	0.05	-0.10	0.03	0.54*	-0.12	-0.19*	0.01
16. Targets' Liking for Actor	0.11	0.00	0.00	-0.12	-0.01	0.55*	-0.08	-0.27*	0.02
17. Targets' Ability-based Trust in Actor	0.10	-0.03	-0.04	-0.11	0.02	0.47*	-0.06	-0.03	0.10
18. Targets' Benevolence-based Trust in Actor	0.14	0.10	0.04	-0.09	0.00	0.71*	-0.12	0.00	0.04
19. Targets' OCB-Is toward Actor	-0.04	-0.05	-0.03	-0.01	0.11	0.39*	-0.02	-0.28*	0.08
20. Targets' Ostracism toward Actor	-0.11	0.05	-0.08	0.17	-0.03	-0.14	-0.08	0.32*	0.08
21. Targets' Relationship Conflict with Actor	-0.02	0.04	-0.05	0.03	-0.19*	-0.09	0.03	-0.01	0.02
22. Targets' Task Information Sharing with Actor	0.03	0.18	0.07	0.05	0.05	0.50*	-0.01	-0.16	-0.01
23. Targets' Deference toward Actor	-0.06	-0.16	-0.08	0.01	0.13	0.42*	0.03	-0.15	-0.02
24. Targets' Task Conflict with Actor	-0.02	-0.01	0.03	-0.04	-0.03	-0.09	0.19*	0.04	0.14

Table 8 continued

	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
15. Targets' Respect for Actor	NA									
16. Targets' Liking for Actor	0.78*	NA								
17. Targets' Ability-based Trust in Actor	0.74*	0.67*	NA							
18. Targets' Benevolence-based Trust in Actor	0.55*	0.61*	0.44*	NA						
19. Targets' OCB-Is toward Actor	0.49*	0.62*	0.47*	0.37*	**0.76**					
20. Targets' Ostracism toward Actor	-0.41*	-0.57*	-0.40*	-0.24*	-0.45*	NA				
21. Targets' Relationship Conflict with Actor	-0.04	-0.28*	-0.12	-0.05	-0.37*	0.40*	NA			
22. Targets' Task Information Sharing with Actor	0.50*	0.54*	0.39*	0.58*	0.56*	-0.37*	-0.04	**0.88**		
23. Targets' Deference toward Actor	0.42*	0.45*	0.46*	0.38*	0.55*	-0.23*	-0.18*	0.57*	NA	
24. Targets' Task Conflict with Actor	-0.11	-0.27*	-0.14*	0.00	-0.31*	0.32*	0.63*	-0.20*	-0.34*	NA

*Note: N = 81; * p < .10; scale reliabilities (when applicable) appear in bold along the diagonal*

Table 9: Study 3 Hierarchical Linear Models Predicting Respect

Model 1: Control Variables Predicting Respect				Model 2: Direct Effects of Task- and Target-based Selectivity on Respect				Model 3: Moderated Effects of Task- and Target-based Selectivity on Respect			
	Est.	SE	p		Est.	SE	p		Est.	SE	p
Intercept	3.62	1.14	0.00	Intercept	4.07	1.29	0.00	Intercept	2.58	2.15	0.23
Agreeableness	0.11	0.10	0.29	Agreeableness	0.10	0.11	0.36	Agreeableness	0.07	0.11	0.50
Extraversion	-0.16	0.07	0.03	Extraversion	-0.15	0.08	0.07	Extraversion	-0.17	0.08	0.04
Self-Monitoring	0.94	0.47	0.05	Self-Monitoring	0.68	0.49	0.17	Self-Monitoring	0.72	0.50	0.16
Job Satisfaction	0.00	0.09	0.96	Job Satisfaction	0.01	0.09	0.91	Job Satisfaction	0.02	0.09	0.79
Self Esteem	0.00	0.08	0.96	Self Esteem	-0.03	0.08	0.73	Self Esteem	-0.01	0.09	0.93
Targets' Relationship Strength with Actor	0.35	0.08	0.00	Targets' Relationship Strength with Actor	0.36	0.08	0.00	Targets' Relationship Strength with Actor	0.38	0.08	0.00
Number of Ratings	-0.05	0.07	0.45	Number of Ratings	-0.07	0.07	0.34	Number of Ratings	-0.05	0.08	0.52
Gender	-0.04	0.17	0.80	Gender	-0.04	0.19	0.85	Gender	-0.02	0.20	0.91
Age	-0.01	0.01	0.18	Age	-0.01	0.01	0.28	Age	-0.01	0.01	0.26
Organizational Tenure	0.00	0.02	0.78	Organizational Tenure	0.02	0.02	0.37	Organizational Tenure	0.02	0.02	0.31
Taboo Topic Avoidance	0.11	0.07	0.15	Taboo Topic Avoidance	0.07	0.07	0.37	Taboo Topic Avoidance	0.07	0.07	0.38
Personal Sharing Volume	0.00	0.05	0.96	Personal Sharing Volume	0.00	0.05	0.97	Personal Sharing Volume	0.28	0.31	0.38
				Task-based Selectivity	0.13	0.06	0.03	Task-based Selectivity	0.13	0.18	0.45
				Target-based Selectivity	-0.12	0.10	0.26	Target-based Selectivity	0.09	0.23	0.69
				Dyad-based Selectivity	0.04	0.08	0.67	Dyad-based Selectivity	0.06	0.09	0.52
								Task-based Selectivity x Personal Sharing Volume	0.01	0.04	0.90
								Target-based Selectivity x Personal Sharing Volume	-0.04	0.05	0.45
R^2	0.39			R^2	0.46			R^2	0.46		
AIC	196.40			AIC	206.95			AIC	218.97		

Table 10: Study 3 Hierarchical Linear Models Predicting Liking

Model 4: Control Variables Predicting Liking				Model 5: Direct Effect of Dyad-based Selectivity on Liking				Model 6: Moderated Effect of Dyad-based Selectivity on Liking			
	Est.	SE	p		Est.	SE	p		Est.	SE	p
Intercept	4.44	1.39	0.00	Intercept	5.11	1.49	0.00	Intercept	3.50	1.97	0.08
Agreeableness	0.19	0.13	0.13	Agreeableness	0.21	0.12	0.09	Agreeableness	0.22	0.12	0.09
Extraversion	-0.10	0.09	0.28	Extraversion	-0.12	0.09	0.19	Extraversion	-0.14	0.09	0.13
Self-Monitoring	0.07	0.57	0.91	Self-Monitoring	-0.17	0.57	0.77	Self-Monitoring	-0.26	0.57	0.66
Job Satisfaction	-0.03	0.10	0.78	Job Satisfaction	-0.02	0.10	0.86	Job Satisfaction	0.00	0.10	0.99
Self Esteem	-0.02	0.10	0.87	Self Esteem	-0.03	0.09	0.72	Self Esteem	-0.04	0.09	0.67
Targets' Relationship Strength with Actor	0.42	0.09	0.00	Targets' Relationship Strength with Actor	0.41	0.09	0.00	Targets' Relationship Strength with Actor	0.41	0.09	0.00
Number of Ratings	0.00	0.08	0.96	Number of Ratings	-0.06	0.08	0.50	Number of Ratings	-0.05	0.08	0.55
Gender	0.18	0.21	0.41	Gender	0.12	0.23	0.60	Gender	0.19	0.23	0.42
Age	-0.02	0.01	0.03	Age	-0.02	0.01	0.02	Age	-0.02	0.01	0.01
Organizational Tenure	0.01	0.02	0.78	Organizational Tenure	0.02	0.02	0.31	Organizational Tenure	0.02	0.02	0.24
Taboo Topic Avoidance	0.03	0.09	0.73	Taboo Topic Avoidance	0.01	0.09	0.88	Taboo Topic Avoidance	0.02	0.09	0.84
Personal Sharing Volume	0.03	0.06	0.66	Personal Sharing Volume	0.03	0.06	0.62	Personal Sharing Volume	0.38	0.27	0.17
				Task-based Selectivity	0.08	0.07	0.22	Task-based Selectivity	0.10	0.07	0.16
				Target-based Selectivity	-0.25	0.12	0.05	Target-based Selectivity	-0.19	0.12	0.13
				Dyad-based Selectivity	0.18	0.10	0.06	Dyad-based Selectivity	0.42	0.21	0.05
								Dyad-based Selectivity x Personal Sharing Volume	-0.06	0.05	0.20
R^2	0.39			R^2	0.46			R^2	0.46		
AIC	222.60			AIC	232.00			AIC	236.80		

Table 11: Study 3 Hierarchical Linear Models Predicting Instrumental Support

M7: Direct Effects of Task- and Target-based Selectivity on Task Information Sharing				M8: Direct Effects of Task- and Target-based Selectivity on Deference				M9: Direct Effects of Task- and Target-based Selectivity on Task Conflict			
	Est.	SE	p		Est.	SE	p		Est.	SE	p
Intercept	3.95	2.00	0.05	Intercept	1.47	2.85	0.61	Intercept	0.91	0.97	0.35
Agreeableness	-0.10	0.17	0.54	Agreeableness	-0.28	0.23	0.24	Agreeableness	0.08	0.08	0.33
Extraversion	0.05	0.12	0.67	Extraversion	-0.18	0.17	0.29	Extraversion	0.06	0.06	0.32
Self-Monitoring	-0.63	0.76	0.41	Self-Monitoring	-0.05	1.08	0.96	Self-Monitoring	-0.08	0.37	0.84
Job Satisfaction	0.09	0.14	0.52	Job Satisfaction	0.17	0.19	0.38	Job Satisfaction	-0.03	0.07	0.62
Self Esteem	0.02	0.13	0.88	Self Esteem	0.08	0.18	0.67	Self Esteem	-0.02	0.06	0.77
Targets' Relationship Strength with Actor	0.49	0.12	0.00	Targets' Relationship Strength with Actor	0.47	0.18	0.01	Targets' Relationship Strength with Actor	0.06	0.06	0.30
Number of Ratings	-0.02	0.12	0.86	Number of Ratings	0.09	0.19	0.63	Number of Ratings	0.00	0.05	0.99
Gender	0.26	0.30	0.38	Gender	0.24	0.42	0.57	Gender	0.36	0.14	0.01
Age	-0.03	0.01	0.03	Age	-0.04	0.02	0.04	Age	0.01	0.01	0.26
Organizational Tenure	0.02	0.03	0.49	Organizational Tenure	0.04	0.04	0.35	Organizational Tenure	0.00	0.01	0.78
Taboo Topic Avoidance	0.03	0.11	0.77	Taboo Topic Avoidance	0.17	0.16	0.29	Taboo Topic Avoidance	-0.09	0.06	0.13
Personal Sharing Volume	0.11	0.08	0.18	Personal Sharing Volume	0.16	0.12	0.17	Personal Sharing Volume	-0.05	0.04	0.26
Task-based Selectivity	-0.02	0.09	0.82	Task-based Selectivity	0.08	0.13	0.54	Task-based Selectivity	-0.05	0.04	0.29
Target-based Selectivity	-0.02	0.16	0.92	Target-based Selectivity	0.14	0.22	0.53	Target-based Selectivity	0.17	0.08	0.03
Dyad-based Selectivity	0.13	0.13	0.32	Dyad-based Selectivity	0.05	0.18	0.77	Dyad-based Selectivity	-0.11	0.06	0.08
R^2	0.34			R^2	0.29			R^2	0.25		
AIC	274.17			AIC	321.01			AIC	175.07		

Table 12: Study 3 Hierarchical Linear Models Predicting Psychosocial Support

M10: Direct Effects of Dyad-based Selectivity on OCB-Is				M11: Direct Effects of Dyad-based Selectivity on Ostracism				M12: Direct Effects of Dyad-based Selectivity on Relationship Conflict			
	Est.	SE	p		Est.	SE	p		Est.	SE	p
Intercept	6.42	1.26	0.00	Intercept	2.72	1.52	0.08	Intercept	1.91	0.76	0.02
Agreeableness	-0.08	0.10	0.46	Agreeableness	-0.29	0.13	0.02	Agreeableness	-0.02	0.06	0.75
Extraversion	-0.07	0.08	0.37	Extraversion	0.22	0.09	0.02	Extraversion	0.06	0.05	0.22
Self-Monitoring	-0.31	0.48	0.52	Self-Monitoring	-0.42	0.58	0.47	Self-Monitoring	-0.28	0.29	0.33
Job Satisfaction	0.06	0.09	0.45	Job Satisfaction	0.08	0.10	0.44	Job Satisfaction	0.04	0.05	0.49
Self Esteem	0.05	0.08	0.51	Self Esteem	-0.01	0.10	0.90	Self Esteem	-0.09	0.05	0.07
Relationship Strength (average target rating)	0.17	0.08	0.03	Relationship Strength (average target rating)	-0.07	0.09	0.46	Relationship Strength (average target rating)	-0.01	0.05	0.92
Number of Ratings	-0.08	0.07	0.26	Number of Ratings	0.07	0.09	0.45	Number of Ratings	0.03	0.04	0.51
Gender	-0.06	0.19	0.75	Gender	-0.19	0.23	0.40	Gender	0.05	0.11	0.64
Age	-0.02	0.01	0.01	Age	0.02	0.01	0.01	Age	0.00	0.00	0.60
Organizational Tenure	0.03	0.02	0.13	Organizational Tenure	0.00	0.02	0.95	Organizational Tenure	0.00	0.01	0.85
Taboo Topic Avoidance	0.05	0.07	0.50	Taboo Topic Avoidance	-0.05	0.09	0.58	Taboo Topic Avoidance	-0.04	0.04	0.34
Personal Sharing Volume	0.05	0.05	0.29	Personal Sharing Volume	-0.04	0.06	0.54	Personal Sharing Volume	-0.03	0.03	0.37
Task-based Selectivity	0.07	0.06	0.22	Task-based Selectivity	0.01	0.07	0.93	Task-based Selectivity	-0.05	0.03	0.16
Target-based Selectivity	-0.16	0.10	0.12	Target-based Selectivity	0.13	0.12	0.29	Target-based Selectivity	0.12	0.06	0.05
Dyad-based Selectivity	0.06	0.08	0.46	Dyad-based Selectivity	-0.25	0.10	0.01	Dyad-based Selectivity	-0.05	0.05	0.34
R^2	0.31			R^2	0.31			R^2	0.18		
AIC	211.53			AIC	238.00			AIC	143.29		

Table 13: Summary of Study 3 Multilevel Mediation Results

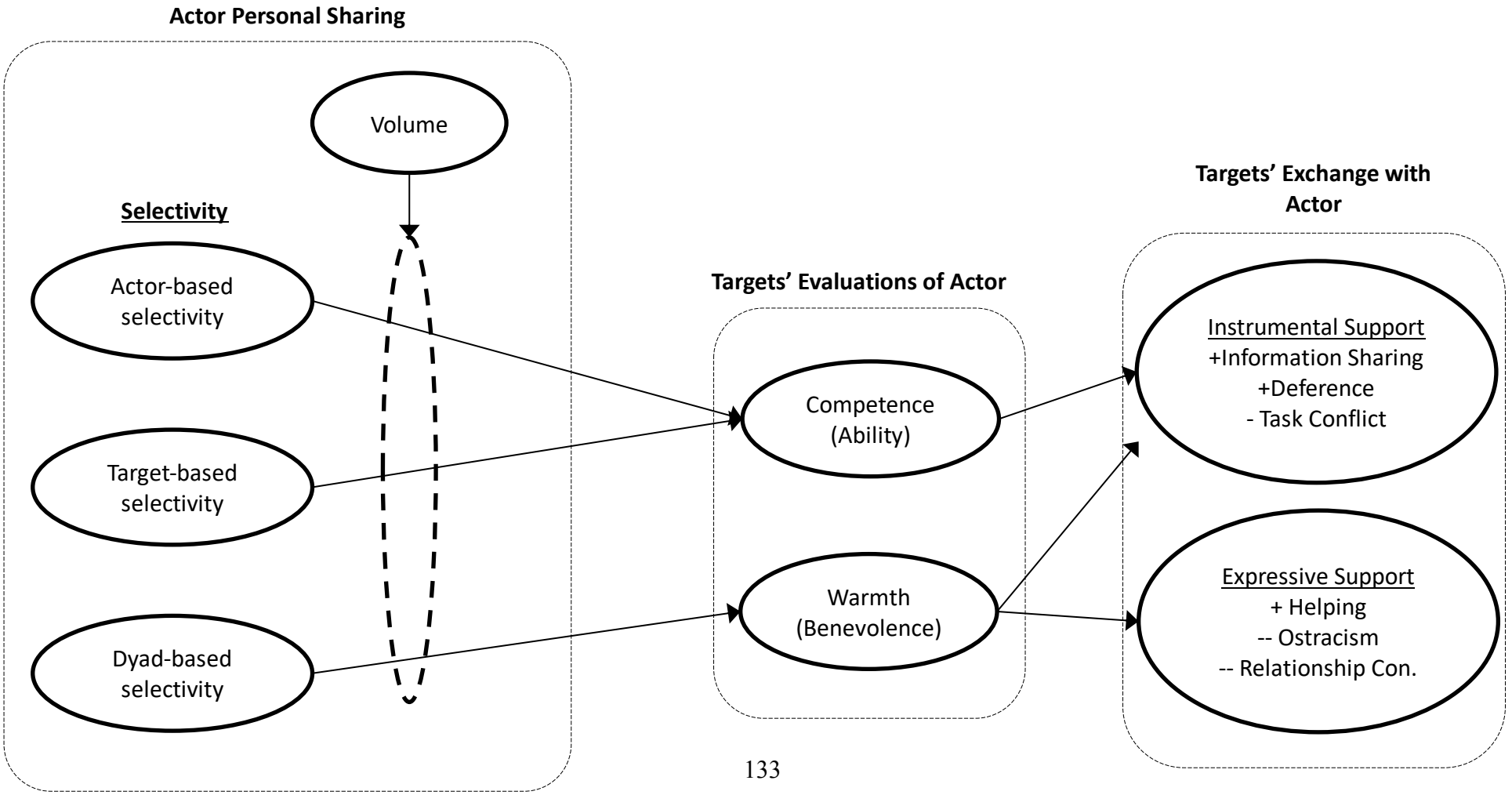
	Est.	LL	UL	Support
Hypothesis 7a				**None**
Task-based selectivity --> Ability-based Trust	-0.03	-0.19	0.13	
Ability-based trust --> Information Sharing	0.42	0.14	0.70	*
Task-based selectivity --> Information Sharing (Indirect Effect)	-0.01	-0.09	0.06	
Ability-based trust --> Deference	0.49	0.11	0.87	*
Task-based selectivity --> Deference (Indirect Effect)	-0.02	-0.11	0.07	
Ability-based trust --> Task Conflict	-0.15	-0.45	0.14	
Task-based selectivity --> Task Conflict (Indirect Effect)	0.00	-0.01	0.02	
Hypothesis 7b				**None**
Task-based selectivity x Volume --> Ability-based Trust	-0.02	-0.04	0.01	
Task-based selectivity x Volume --> Task Information (Indirect Effect)	-0.01	-0.02	0.01	
Task-based selectivity x Volume --> Deference (Indirect Effect)	-0.01	-0.02	0.01	
Task-based selectivity x Volume --> Task Conflict (Indirect Effect)	0.00	-0.01	0.01	
Hypothesis 8a				**None - X**
Target-based selectivity --> Ability-based Trust	-0.25	-0.47	-0.02	X
Ability-based trust --> Information Sharing	0.40	0.11	0.69	*
Target-based selectivity --> Information Sharing (Indirect Effect)	-0.10	-0.23	-0.01	X
Ability-based trust --> Deference	0.50	0.11	0.89	*
Target-based selectivity --> Deference (Indirect Effect)	-0.12	-0.31	-0.01	X
Ability-based trust --> Task Conflict	-0.05	-0.20	0.10	
Target-based selectivity --> Task Conflict (Indirect Effect)	0.01	-0.03	0.06	
Hypothesis 8b				**None**
Target-based selectivity x Volume --> Ability-based Trust	-0.02	-0.05	0.01	
Target-based selectivity x Volume --> Task Information (Indirect Effect)	-0.01	-0.03	0.00	
Target-based selectivity x Volume --> Deference (Indirect Effect)	-0.01	-0.03	0.00	
Target-based selectivity x Volume --> Task Conflict (Indirect Effect)	0.00	-0.00	-0.01	

Table 13 continued

Hypothesis 9a				**None**
Dyad-based selectivity --> Benevolence-based Trust	-0.07	-0.31	0.16	
Benevolence-based trust --> Information Sharing	0.50	0.27	0.72	*
Dyad-based selectivity --> Information Sharing (Indirect Effect)	-0.04	-0.16	0.08	
Benevolence-based trust --> Deference	0.42	0.08	0.75	
Dyad-based selectivity --> Deference (Indirect Effect)	-0.03	-0.15	0.08	
Benevolence-based trust --> Task Conflict	0.06	-0.06	0.18	
Dyad-based selectivity --> Task Conflict (Indirect Effect)	-0.01	-0.03	0.01	
Hypothesis 9b				**None**
Dyad-based selectivity x Volume --> Benevolence-based Trust	-0.01	-0.04	0.01	
Dyad-based selectivity x Volume --> Task Information (Indirect Effect)	-0.01	-0.02	0.01	
Dyad-based selectivity x Volume --> Deference (Indirect Effect)	-0.01	-0.03	0.01	
Dyad-based selectivity x Volume --> Task Conflict (Indirect Effect)	-0.00	-0.01	0.00	
Hypothesis 10a				**None**
Benevolence-based Trust --> OCB-Is	0.16	0.02	0.32	*
Dyad-based Selectivity --> OCB-Is (Indirect Effect)	-0.01	-0.06	0.03	
Benevolence-based Trust --> Ostracism	-0.01	-0.21	0.18	
Dyad-based Selectivity --> Ostracism (Indirect Effect)	0.00	-0.03	0.03	
Benevolence-based Trust --> Relationship Conflict	0.04	-0.05	0.13	
Dyad-based Selectivity --> Relationship Conflict (Indirect Effect)	-0.00	-0.02	0.01	
Hypothesis 10b				**None**
Dyad-based selectivity x Volume --> OCB-Is (Indirect Effect)	-0.00	-0.01	0.00	
Dyad-based selectivity x Volume --> Ostracism (Indirect Effect)	0.00	-0.00	0.01	
Dyad-based selectivity x Volume --> Relationship Conflict (Indirect Effect)	-0.00	-0.00	0.00	

Note: * indicates a significant estimated effect, and X indicates a significant estimated effect in the opposite direction from that which was hypothesized

Figure 1: Theoretical Model of the Interpersonal Consequences of Personal Sharing



Appendices

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR STUDY 1

1. How would you describe the "social culture" of your organization? For example, are coworkers likely to be friends? Hang out outside of work? Keep up with what's going on in one another's personal lives? Or, do people tend to keep things private and "professional" when it comes to interactions and relationships?

    a. How strong is the culture?

    b. Do different teams or groups of people have their own cultures?

2. Personal information is anything about someone's life outside of work. Thinking about some recent conversations you've had with coworkers, what kinds of personal information have people shared?

3. What are some "rules of thumb" you have for sharing personal information at work?

    a. Why do you follow that rule?

    b. What would happen if you violated your rule?

4. Are the "rules" specific to where you work or different from what you think is the norm of general work settings? If so, how?

5. How did you learn what is/isn't appropriate to share with coworkers?

6. Can you think of an example when you or someone else shared too much personal information at work? What were the "consequences"? What about when you or someone else didn't share enough?

APPENDIX B: STUDY 3 MEASURES

Focal Actor Self-Report (all Wave 1)

Personal Sharing Selectivity: developed for this study
Target-focused selectivity

- I take into account how private this person is, generally
- I wait for a signal that he/she is open to hearing about others' personal beliefs.
- I consider the person's stance on particular issues that come up in conversations.
- I consider how often this person has said things about that same topic I might bring up.

Task-focused selectivity

- I consider whether it is affecting my performance
- I consider whether the person needs to know because it affects how I accomplish tasks
- I think about whether it would be helpful to explain problems getting my work done
- I think about whether it justifies my request for extra help on the job

Dyad-focused selectivity

- I think about whether she/he has shared something personal with me lately
- I think about whether or not there's been a give-and-take with this person, in that we've been able to go back and forth with one another on personal issues.
- I consider how well she or he and I have been getting along with each other

Taboo Topic Avoidance: developed for this study

- I just tend to avoid talking about anything sensitive that has to do with my body
- I stay away from saying anything about sex or intimate relationships.
- I avoid discussing with anyone how much money I (or they) make.
- I keep from talking about anything "taboo" that might make somebody really uncomfortable.

Personal Sharing Volume: adapted from Bunderston & Sutcliffe, 2002

- I freely share information about my personal life outside of work with my coworkers or teammates
- I keep my coworkers up to date on what is happening in my personal life
- I keep my coworkers "in the loop" about my personal life

Agreeableness: Costa & McCrae, 1992

- I am interested in people.
- I sympathize with others' feelings.
- I have a soft heart.
- I take time out for others.

- I feel others' emotions.
- I make people feel at ease.
- I am not really interested in others. (rev)
- I insult people. (rev)
- I am not interested in other people's problems. (rev)
- I feel little concern for others. (rev)

Extraversion: Costa & McCrae, 1992

- I am the life of the party
- I feel comfortable around people
- I don't talk a lot. (rev)
- I keep in the background. (rev)
- I start conversations.
- I talk to a lot of different people at parties.
- I have little to say. (rev)
- I don't like to draw attention to myself. (rev)
- I am quiet around strangers. (rev)
- I don't mind being at the center of attention.

Self-monitoring: Snyder, 1974

- I find it hard to imitate the behavior of other people. (rev)
- At parties and social gatherings, I do not attempt to do or say things that others will like. (rev)
- I can only argue for ideas which I already believe. (rev)
- I can make impromptu speeches even on topics about which I have almost no information.
- I guess I put on a show to impress or entertain others.
- I would probably make a good actor.
- In a group of people, I am rarely the center of attention. (rev)
- In different situations and with different people, I often act like very different persons.
- I am not particularly good at making other people like me. (rev)
- I'm not always the person I appear to be.
- I would not change my opinions (or the way I do things) in order to please someone or win their favor. (rev)
- I have considered being an entertainer.
- I have never been good at games like charades or improvisational acting. (rev)
- I have trouble changing my behavior to suit different people and different situations. (rev)
- At a party, I let others keep the jokes and stories going. (rev)
- I feel a bit awkward in public and do not show up quite as well as I should. (rev)

- I can look anyone in the eye and tell a lie with a straight face (if for a right end).
- I may deceive people by being friendly when I really dislike them.

Job Satisfaction: Brayfield & Rothe, 1951
- I feel fairly satisfied with my present job
- Most days, I am enthusiastic about my work
- Each day at work seems like it will never end
- I find real enjoyment in my work
- I consider my job to be rather unpleasant

Self-Esteem: Rosenberg, 1965
- On the whole, I am satisfied with myself
- At times I think I am no good at all
- I feel that I have a number of good qualities
- I am able to do things as well as most other people
- I feel I do not have much to be proud of

Actor-Directed Peer Ratings (Wave 1)

Relationship quality: Selfhout, Denissen, Branje, & Meeus, 2009
Please indicate to what degree you are friends with [COWORKER NAME] on a scale from 1 (far acquaintance) to 7 (best friend)

Competence: Adapted from (Tyler & Blader, 2002)
- I value ___ as a member of our work group.
    - Factor loading = .93
    - Alpha with scale = .92

Warmth: Casciaro & Lobo, 2008
- I find ____ enjoyable to work with.

Trustworthiness: Jones and Shah, 2016; Adapted from Mayer & Davis, 1999
Ability-based trustworthiness
- To what extent does [NAME] have the ability to complete high-quality work – does he/she have the knowledge and skills needed?

Benevolence-based trustworthiness
- To what extent is [NAME] concerned for your welfare – someone who is looking out for you, who would go out of their way to help you, and who would not knowingly do anything to hurt you?

Actor-Directed Peer Ratings (Wave 2)

Instrumental Support

- **Information sharing:** Adapted from Bunderson & Sutcliffe, 2002
    - I freely share information used to make key decisions with this person.
    - I work hard to keep this person up to date on their activities.
    - I keep this person in the loop about key issues affecting the business unit.
- **Deference:** Joshi & Knight, 2015
    - I defer to this person's work-related opinions and inputs
- **Task Conflict:** Jehn & Mannix, 2001
    - How much conflict of ideas (about work tasks or projects) is there between you and this person? (factor loading of .91 in original scale development)

Psychosocial Support

- **Organizational Citizenship Behaviors:** Dalal, Lam, Weiss, Welch, & Hulin, 2009
    - I go out of my way to be nice to this person.
    - I try to help this person.
    - I speak highly about this person to others.
- **Ostracism Behavior**
    - I tend to ignore or avoid this person
        - Factor loading = .78
        - Alpha with scale = .79
- **Relationship Conflict:** Jehn & Mannix, 2001
    - How much relationship tension is there between you and this person? (factor loading of .90 in original scale development)

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